DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 396 094 CE 071 475

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TITLE Determining the Need for Vocational Counselling among Different Groups of Young People under 28 in Spain. National Report.

INSTITUTION European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training, Berlin (Germany).

PUB DATE Oct 93

NOTE 114p.; For related documents, see CE 070 114-121 and CE 071 474.

PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC05 Plus Postage.

DESCRIPTORS Adolescents; *Career Counseling; Counseling Objectives; Counseling Services; Counselor Attitudes; *Educational Needs; Employment Patterns; Foreign Countries; *Homemakers; Industrial Structure; Labor Market; Needs Assessment; Nonformal Education; Secondary Education; *Structural Unemployment; Teacher Attitudes; *Technological Advancement; Trend Analysis; Young Adults

IDENTIFIERS *Spain

ABSTRACT

A study examined the need for vocational counseling among two target groups of young people under the age of 28 years in Spain: young women whose chief activity is domestic work in their own homes in Madrid and young people of both sexes affected by industrial reconversion who were living on the left bank of the Bilbao Estuary. Their vocational counseling needs were assessed by interviewing 20 individuals representing 14 organizations and 19 representatives of 14 organizations, respectively. In the case of the homemakers, it was emphasized that counselors must develop an appreciation of the value of domestic work in economic terms and in terms of well-being and must tailor vocational counseling services to the different stages of the homemakers' lives: the period of education and the moments of transition to the world of work, abandonment of work for the family, and return to work. It was recommended that the vocational counseling needs of young people in areas affected by industrial restructuring be met by providing them with labor market information during their formal education and training/retraining and counseling both outside and after the formal secondary education system. (A list of persons/organizations consulted is attached.) (MN)

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Determining the need for vocational counselling among different target groups of young people under 28 in Spain

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National report

CEDEFOP panorama

Determining the need for vocational counselling among different target groups of young people under 28 in Spain

Target group 1:
A group of young women whose chief activity is domestic work in their own homes (autonomous community of Madrid).

Target group 2:
Young people of both sexes affected by industrial reconversion (Left Bank of the Bilbao estuary).

Ignacio Fernández de Castro
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October 1993

1st edition, Berlin 1995

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The Centre was established by Regulation (EEC) No 337/75 of the Council of the European Communities, last amended by Council Regulation (EC) No 1131/94 of 16 May 1994.

National report 3

Cataloguing data can be found at the end of this publication.

Berlin: CEDEFOP – European Centre for the Development
of Vocational Training, 1995

1st edition, Berlin 1995

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Printed in Germany

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Preface by CEDEFOP

In developing the careers of young people and integrating them into working life, career guidance is becoming increasingly important. Persistent, structurally-caused unemployment, higher qualification requirements, complex training paths with eased transition between initial and continuing training, the increasing deregulation of the labour market and the emergence of new values and life styles among young people present career guidance services, as the instrument for regulating supply and demand on training, education and labour markets, with fundamental and complex tasks. At the same time, European integration poses new challenges to the career guidance services in the Member States. The PETRA 3 programme has taken an initial step in this direction through setting up European-oriented national resource centres, through organizing transitional continuing training courses for occupational guidance counsellors and publishing the "European Manual for Occupational Guidance Counsellors".

The comparative studies[1] carried out by CEDEFOP and Task Force: Human Resources, Education, Training and Youth to support and monitor work in this field have increased transparency in national occupational guidance systems and qualification structures.

The activities and research work carried out aimed primarily to make proposals or provide support for improving occupational guidance activities, to focus such work in a European context on the basis of existing national structures. Counselling requirements were deduced from existing or forecasted demand (enquiries at guidance services) or from general data derived from labour market and occupational research.

To date the needs of various target groups of young people based on their economic and social and cultural situation, their values, their career plans, their conception of the efficiency of occupational guidance offers etc. have not been taken into account.

This issue was examined in the project "Determination of (occupational) guidance needs for various groups of young people under 28 years of age in the European Union", carried out between March 1993 and May 1994, the results of which are now available (12 national reports, in the original language and English, partly in French, the synthesis report in English, French, German, Italian and Spanish).

A total of 21 target groups were examined; nine of the reports examined two of the groups and three reports examined one target group. Particular attention was devoted to young people at a particular disadvantage who had no or inadequate access to occupational guidance services. The target groups selected are listed in the appendices of the 12 national reports and the synthesis report as the aims and findings of the project - as stressed in the synthesis report - can only be viewed in the context of the interrelationships between the various elements. The national reports have been published in separate editions as certain readers are interested

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[1] Occupational profiles and training in occupational guidance counselling, CEDEFOP, 1992, 12 national studies and synthesis report.
Educational and vocational guidance services for youth and young adults in the EC, European Commission, 1993, 12 national reports and synthesis report. As a supplement:
EUROCOUNSEL, Counselling and long-term unemployment, European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions, Dublin, 1992-1993, 6 national studies and synthesis report.

in specific target groups whose problems in finding training and work have supra-national features which are characteristic of other target groups which we selected.

This project was commissioned by Task Force: Human Resources, Education, Training and Youth as part of the PETRA 3 programme aiming to produce indicators for differentiated and demand-oriented occupational guidance practices and to create more offensive planning strategies to reach as far as possible those target groups which were excluded from guidance counselling for the reasons contained in the reports. New proposals are being formulated at present to prepare the gradual transition to the "LEONARDO DA VINCI Programme".

Enrique Retuerto de la Torre
Deputy Director

Gesa Chomé
Project Coordinator

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The production of this report was made possible by the valuable cooperation of our colleagues from EQUIPO DE ESTUDIOS (EDE) - Leopoldo Gumpert, Carmen San Miguel, Eduvigis Sanchez, Alfonso Valero and Pilar Vaquerizo, as also all those persons and organisations who were kind enough to give us information, documentation and, above all, their opinions.

Our particular thanks goes to Inaqui Barcena, Professor of Political Science and Administration at the University of the Basque Country, and to Eunate Guarrotxera, who holds a degree in sociology, for his kind and efficient collaboration in the work done on the Left Bank.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The creation of the European single market cannot be divorced from a Europe with social concerns that call for specific action. Faced with evidence that young people in the various countries of Europe do not enjoy the same opportunities in terms of education, training and employment CEDEFOP, under the EU's PETRA II programme, carried out a European-wide study of vocational counselling services available and the people who worked in them. This study logically called for a complementary analysis of the need and demand for such services on the part of those to whom they are offered. Hence the CEDEFOP project of which this working document is a part.

Ignacio Fernández de Castro and Carmen de Elejabeitia together with the group of professionals constituting the Equipo de Estudios have spent many years investigating

the relationship between supply and demand, specifically in connection with the process of job placement for young people leaving the educational system.

Since counselling serves as a channel of information as to the range of training and jobs available which is very useful to those using the service, and since the need and demand for counselling are an expression of the need and demand for training and jobs which is most useful to counsellors, the counselling services require information, not only concerning what is available, but also concerning need and demand.

On the other hand, need and demand are not always the same thing. The problems encountered by young people in the various European countries lie not only in the inequality of opportunity to obtain adequate counselling, training and jobs but also, we suspect, in the fact that need cannot reflect in demand because there is no means of meeting it.

Supply, and particularly the supply of services with a social objective and content, has to be designed according to the needs of potential users so that the result enables people to recognise their need and the possibility of meeting it and need is transformed into demand. From this point of view supply, in this case the supply of counselling services, has to be based on information that enables the counsellor to combine needs and demand with what is available and design his activity accordingly.

Referring to the axes proposed by CEDEFOP for this study - mobility/immobility in space and time and economic and social exclusion/inclusion which together describe the various situations in which the different groups of young people find themselves

with regard to their need and demand for counselling - we chose two target groups forSpain. The first of these is young women in the autonomous community of Madrid whose chief activity is domestic work in their own home because their situation is paradigmatic for equality of opportunity. The second target group is that young people of both sexes affected by industrial conversion (on the Left Bank of the Bilbao estuary, because here their lack of guidance and the gap between need and demand is a particularly serious problem. Regardless of whether remaining at home is a voluntary or involuntary choice, the first group is notable for its extreme immobility or exclusion within the home and in an economically dependent position. The second is notable for the impact industrial conversion has on the group's future prospects, with consequences which may go so far as to destroy in a large part of the group the hopes which could stimulate demand for counselling on training and employment.

It is the task of this study to discover the need and demand for training and employment, to determine whether the relevant counselling services are available, to investigate the counselling services that exist for one or other of the groups and to pinpoint the shortcomings of the process as a whole. To this end our study questions the social reality of both target groups from two points of view. This called for two working methods.

In the case of the group of young housewives, the methodology used was mainly consultation and analysis of the relevant documentary information.

In the case of the young people of both sexes affected by industrial conversion, our analysis of their situation is based on interviews of persons directly concerned with the problem.

TARGET GROUP ONE

A group of young women whose chief activity is domestic work in their own homes. Location: autonomous community of Madrid

Women carrying out domestic work in their own homes as defined for the first target group represent 56.7% of the total female population of Spain over the age of 15. According to the figures of the survey of the working population carried out in 1992, 596,000 of this group are aged between 16 and 29 - equivalent to 28.7% of the total number of women in this age group.

1. General variables used to define the group

The 1991 population census data for the autonomous community of Madrid has as yet been only partially processed. The National Statistical Institute no longer publishes the data yielded by the working population survey at provincial level nor that for the autonomous communities. For the time being the Department for the Economy of the autonomous community of Madrid is responsible for processing the data of the population census but at present only that for the working population. Because of this situation we have been obliged to use statistical data from various sources and of different dates in order to define the target group and estimate its composition.

1.1 Geographical location

The autonomous community of Madrid covers areas to be qualified as "rural" (small towns with predominantly agricultural activity), "urban" (towns of medium size with the accent on industry and services, and "metropolitan" (the area of Greater Madrid). This area includes the capital city proper plus the surrounding

municipalities. However, the statistical sources do not always permit these classifications with the desired degree of clarity.

According to the register of residents for the municipality of Madrid in 1986 there were almost two and a half million women resident in the autonomous community of Madrid at that time, 65.3% of whom were living in towns with more than two hundred thousand inhabitants (TABLE 1).

1.2 **Age**

According to the provisional data from the 1991 population census, the number of women aged between 15 and 29 living in the autonomous community of Madrid was 631,690. This number includes our target group. The break-down of the total number by age group is as follows:

Aged 15 to 19 ..... 217,230 .... 34.4 %
Aged 20 to 24 ..... 210,187 .... 33,3 %
Aged 25 to 29 ..... 204,273 .... 32.3 %
Total 15 to 29 years ..... 631,690 ... 100.0 %

The percentage breakdown by age group of women aged 15 to 29 resident in the autonomous community who are actually living in the capital city itself shows that 60.7% live in Madrid. The figures vary very little from one age group to another (TABLE 2).

It is important to note that only 7% of women in the age group with which we are concerned live outside the metropolitan area.

1.3 **Civil Status**

Factors which need to be taken into account when defining the target group - women residing in the autonomous community of Madrid whose main activity is domestic work - are, apart from their civil status breakdown according to place of

residence (TABLE 3) and age group (TABLE 4), their marrying age and how many children they have, as also whether they live in their parents' house or in their own.

It should be pointed out that both the number of marriages and the number of children borne per woman have dropped sharply, in the autonomous community of Madrid and indeed in Spain as a whole. In recent years the latter figure has levelled off at 1.5. Taking Spain as a whole in 1992 and considering the relationship of the "non-working" women in the target age group with the head of the family or principal wage earner one notes the marked presence in the 16 to 19 age group of the daughters, a large percentage of whom give their situation as "student", and in the 20-29 age group a sharp increase in the "spouse/partner" relationship, indicating that marriage tends to remove women from the working population.

1.4 **Activity/inactivity**

From the various data provided by the survey of the working population of 1989 and 1990, together with the 1991 census concerning the percentage of women in various activity categories by age group and place of residence (TABLES 6, 7 and 8), we conclude that the number of women resident in the autonomous community of Madrid and aged between 16 and 29 inclusive who devote themselves to domestic work in their own home is 73,600. This number would seem to be on the downtrend, since in 1991 this category accounted for 38% women of over 15 - a drop of 8 percentage points from the 1989 level of 45.9%. We therefore estimate that at present the figure could be below 60,000.

It should be noted out that in the youngest age group (16/19) women classified as "other non-active" are in the majority, confirming that this group is almost entirely composed of students. Also noticeable is that between 20 and 24, when people complete their education, there is a marked shift among women towards the "active" group and, to a lesser extent, towards "domestic work in own home". Marriage undoubtedly has an impact on both groups here.

1.5 **Level of completed studies**

The statistical data for the various levels of education of "non-active" women in the autonomous community of Madrid (TABLE 9) compared with the national figures (TABLE 10) show those in the autonomous community of Madrid to have a higher level of education. Here 74.5% of women in the 16 to 29 age group have completed secondary school studies against a national figure of 49.6%.

1.6 **The target group and the general variables defining it**

Bearing in mind the various statistics used and with what we consider to be a sufficient degree of accuracy, the target group (as foreseeable in 1991) totals 65,616 in the autonomous community of Madrid (maximum figure) with a tendency to increase.

Its breakdown by **age group** is as follows:

16 to 19 6,299

20 to 24 16,404

25 to 29 42,913

The downtrend is more marked in the case of the younger age groups.

The breakdown according to **place of residence** is:

Municipality of Madrid	39,304
Municipalities in the greater Madrid area	20,932
Other towns (of these not more than 3,000 rural)	5,380

The decrease is noticeable in rural districts and in the capital city itself.

The breakdown by **civil status** is:

Single	29,366
Married	35,852
Separated/divorced	398

The figures given for married women are minimum figures and those for single women maximum figures. Any tendency to decrease mainly affects the number of single women.

Their breakdown according to **relationship with "head of family"** is:

Head of family	619
Partner of head of family	31,041
Daughter of head of family	30,394
Other	3,562

The "partner" figure is the minimum figure and the "daughter" the maximum. Very probably there are more of the first group and fewer of the second. However, the tendency to decrease affects the "daughter" group.

The breakdown according to **completed studies** is:

Illiterate or no education	5,839
Primary education	19,554
Secondary school	38,517
Above secondary school	1,706

In this case the figures for primary and secondary schooling are minimum figures and it is probable that in fact these should be higher, with the figure for those with higher education correspondingly lower.

The breakdowns given must be regarded as approximate since due to statistical difficulties most of the percentage data refers to groups larger than the group doing domestic work in their own home (most of the percentages used relate to the "inactive" group) and the "domestic work in own home" group was chosen because of the influence of factors such as marriage, number of children and lower educational level. For both reasons the figures for married women, dependant/partner or head of family and lower educational levels are thought to be below the true figure. Everything supports the assumption that their presence in the "own domestic work" category is greater than that which appears in the "inactive" figures.

In consequence we estimate that the target group in the autonomous community of Madrid today comprises some 55,000 young women with a large majority aged between 24 and 29, married or living in a stable partnership, with young children, financially dependent on their partner and with an educational level equivalent to having at least completed compulsory education while a significant percentage have gone on to the baccalaureate or vocational training courses, with more attending the baccalaureate courses.

The current number in the target group of young women aged 16 to 19 and single women financially dependent on their parents is not only insignificant but is even tending to disappear and show up in the working population for statistical purposes, in large part as "unemployed seeking a first job".

As far as can be deduced from the various bibliographical sources consulted (Luis J. Garrido),[1)] the typical route followed by women entering adult society would seem to be accurately defined by the statistical data.

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1) Luis J. Garrido, "Las dos biografías de la mujer en España", Ministry of Social Affairs, Institute for Women, 1992. This paper is particularly interesting and well documented.

At the vocational training stage of state education the adolescent/young woman remains in the educational system throughout the compulsory period up to 16, as do her male counterparts whom she outperforms academically.

Girls leaving the educational system at this point - the number of whom is less than that recorded for their male counterparts (it is calculated that 71.2% of young women continue their secondary education compared with only 62.2% of young men) - are channelled towards the labour market in search of their first job and not towards the "domestic work in own home" category. As a result, their entry into the world of work is marked by an alternation between temporary, insecure jobs and short occupational training courses or even a return to formal schooling to pursue vocational-type studies. The minority group (28.8%) of young women who abandon school after completing the compulsory number of years do not, with very few exceptions, remain at home and do domestic work but look for work, albeit with less luck than their male counterparts (unemployment is higher among young women than among young men of the same age and educational level).

The majority group of young women (71.2%) complete their schooling and continue formal secondary education in a proportion equal to or greater than young men of the same age. It is during this period of their lives and particularly among those in their last year at school - thus between the ages of 16 and 19 - that we find the largest number leaving the educational system, although a significant minority of women (19.4%) opt to go on to higher education. Again, the figure is no less than that for males at 17.9%.

Except where a decision to leave school involves factors such as marriage or forming a stable partnership or, particularly, the arrival of a first child, those leaving the school system after completing or before completing secondary school

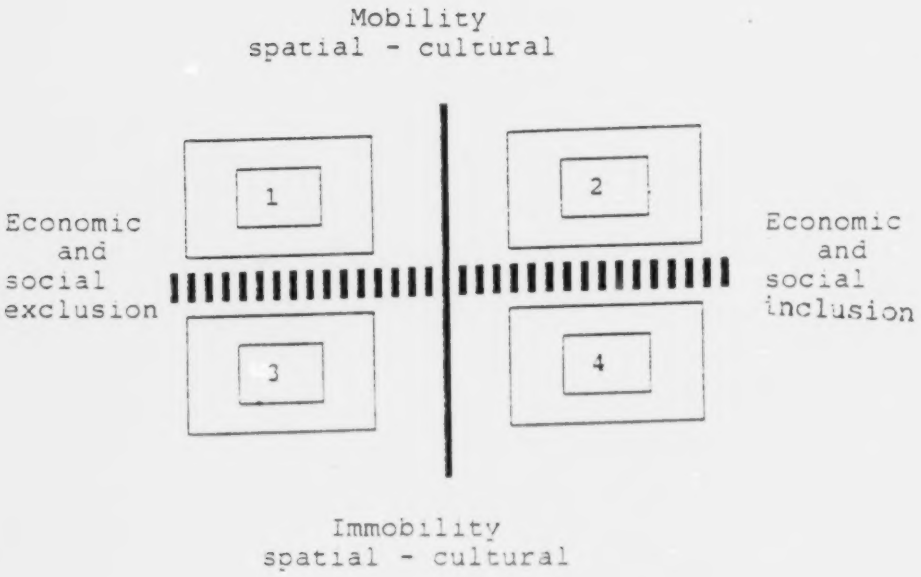
do not do domestic work in their own homes but enter the job market under conditions slightly better than the previous group.

Following a typical career we find that, depending on sex, the break with the educational system tends to coincide with a decision to set up home separately from the parents, marriage and, especially the birth of a child. These events, which in the case of men tend to be preceded by a period in stable employment, in that of women typically causes them to devote themselves to domestic work and to abandon other activity, whether study or work. The statistics show that for most women this break takes place between the ages of 24 and 29.

Domestic work in one's own home, which is the definition of the target group whose counselling needs we are seeking to ascertain, is not the traditional social destiny of most of the women from which only some of them escape, but the consequence of just one of the forms whereby the reproduction of the population is socially organised, although we find the traditional prejudice concerning the role of women lingering in Spanish society.

In summary: the group we are considering draws its members initially - at the point of transition from education to adult society - not from the group of women in general who have arrived at this point and wait, "inactive", in their homes for the moment when a husband comes to claim them to set up a new home, but from a subsequent event. This is in some cases the forming of a stable partnership and in others the rearing of children which obliges them to break away from their normal path in the world of work outside the home in order to devote themselves - generally for what they claim is a temporary period - to domestic work which socially seems incompatible with work outside the home.

2. The target group related to the "mobility/immobility" and "inclusion/exclusion" axes



Field 1. Involuntary mobility
Field 2. Voluntary mobility
Field 3. Involuntary immobility
Field 4. Voluntary immobility

In relation to the above figure the target group, assuming that there has been a free decision on the part of those who do so to remain at home, is located in Field 4. "Voluntary immobility". However if the situation was not voluntary but enforced by various circumstances, whether of a family nature or because of the social discrimination suffered by women as claimed by the feminist movements, this group will be located in Field 3, "Involuntary immobility".

In both cases, regardless of whether the choice has been voluntary or involuntary, we are concerned with a group notable for its extreme immobility since the members are confined to their own home, albeit in some cases only temporarily.

However, the need for vocational counselling in both cases has different roots:

- Where the decision has been freely taken (Field 4a), the need for counselling occurs earlier and is essential to the exercise of freedom at the moment of taking a decision, as well as afterwards in order freely to hold to it.

- If the decision and resulting immobility were enforced (Field 3a), the need for counselling will appear as necessary liberating elements.

In the first case the need for counselling is linked to the exercise of freedom while in the second it is a necessary condition to achieve it. As a result, fixing the field in which the group is actually located is the first stage of our analysis.

Although the situations of no two women are the same, generalisations and even the taxological processes based on the selection of certain elements or factors whose presence or absence permit a classification to be made, must be employed when the objective aimed is to produce programmes or actions capable of modifying a reality which escapes operative knowledge by virtue of its diversity.

Given the fact that we deplore the use of "exemplary models" which destroy the wealth of difference when applied to the "production" of human beings, while use of analytical models is a methodological expedient with a long scientific tradition behind it, it is to this which we shall have recourse in this case. At the same time we would emphasise that this is not a representation of reality with a claim to be true nor a single case adjusted to the model, but an analytical instrument whose objective is to arrive at operative knowledge of the need for vocational and occupational counselling of a group of young women doing domestic work in their own homes in the Madrid area and, by extension, elsewhere in Spain.

2.1 The two pure models of home organisation

We are concerned with two extreme theoretical models whose usefulness lies in the fact that they can be used to define the theoretical need for counselling that they generate. Working on the hypothesis that in real homes there are elements of both models, although with differing degrees and intensities, and that the needs detected in these models are to be found in the women devoted to domestic work in their own home, albeit not in a "pure state", these models enable us to progress towards our objective.

Traditional model (patriarchal organisation):

According to this model the family is organised to maintain and reproduce the active male head of the family while the woman, whether wife, mother or daughter, carries out the work in the home and is financially dependent on the head of the family.

According to the logic on which this model is based, domestic work has no economic value. Time and energy consumed by such work is given free of charge for consumption by the producer, the head of the family. The goods and services the family unit acquires on the market to maintain itself are the inputs as opposed to energy (output) which the active member of the family expends for the production of goods and services. None of the activity within the home has an economic significance.

Modern model (organisation based on the criterion of economic utility):

In this case the family unit is organised economically by an agreement between the two equal partners applying the criterion of the utility (maximum wellbeing) of both and, where they exist, of the children. This implies that decisions as to the energy to be expended and its distribution of work outside the home and domestic work between the partners is taken on the basis of the greater utility for the unit

formed, even if this is only temporary. This criterion involves considering domestic activities performed in the home for maintenance and reproduction as an economic value evaluated by the same criteria as those used to evaluate the outside activities for the market.

The differences between this model and the first are the fact that the partners are equal instead of one being dependent upon the other, and the fact that domestic tasks are considered as of economic value, which is assessed using the same criteria as those used to assess the value of work for the market. The significance of these differences is as follows:

- The traditional model operates vertically (authority of head of family) and the attribution of functions from the top down. The modern model is based on a horizontal consensus between equal partners.

- The traditional model considers work carried out within the home for the home to have no economic value and disregards it when making decisions as to the energy output that has to be expended to maintain the home (input). The modern model, on the other hand, considers these activities on the same footing as those aimed at the market and does take them into account.

- In the traditional model there is a sex-based division of labour which prescribes that it should be the woman who does the domestic work while the man goes out to work, so that the decision as to the distribution of work between the spouses is socially predetermined. In the modern model this predetermination is absent and decisions as to how tasks are shared between the partners - inside or outside the home - are a matter of agreement between them with no economic criteria discriminating against domestic work.

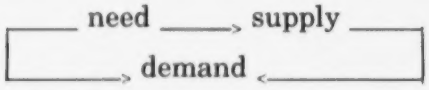
2.2. **The models and the need and demand for counselling**

The need and demand for vocational counselling which is the subject of this study involve a need and/or demand for training or work just as the range of counselling

on offer involves the whole range of training and jobs available so that the person receiving counselling can decide between them. As a result the complete circuit of information on which the need and demand for counselling with which we are concerned here is based is part of the flow of information essential to ensure transparency of the training and employment markets.

On the other hand, including as the subject of the study not only the demand from the target groups but also their needs reveals the possibility of there being needs not expressed in demand simply because there is no supply designed to meet it. Considering this possibility implies reversing the direction of information used to determine what counselling should be available. In other words, it is the suppliers who need the information concerning the needs of its potential consumers so as to generate an offer enabling the person in need to transform his need into demand because there is a supply available to satisfy it.

From this point of view the flow of information is in both directions. Suppliers have to know the need in order to satisfy it and need states what should be available, thereby converting it into demand:



In the present case the models proposed show a need for training and employment from which we can deduce the resulting need for counselling in order to enable the target group to design the ways and means of meeting needs.

The question as to whether appropriate counselling is available and that as to whether counselling does or does not convey the range of training courses and jobs

necessary to meet the needs at the origin of the process both go outside the models to query social reality and show the shortcomings of the process as a whole, as also the point at which these shortcomings occur.

. **Women covered by the traditional model have the following problems**

- Their financial dependence on the man, whether husband or stable partner
- Social conventions which mean that they alone carry the burden of maintaining or reproducing the family, hence of the carrying out of domestic tasks
- The fact that this work is regarded as free of charge and of no economic value

and the following needs

- To find a paid job rendering them financially independent
- To break through sex discrimination with regard to work
- For domestic work to be regarded as economically useful

The above needs give rise to the following counselling requirements:

- Specialist counselling concerning the additional training always necessary in order to enter the job market on the best terms.
- Detailed information on the equal opportunity programmes for women and how they can benefit from them
- Counselling which enables them to understand and assess the economic value of the domestic work which they are performing because of the impact such knowledge can have on the position of women within the family unit, as also in order to design a strategy altering the allocation of domestic tasks.

In summary, the needs of women covered by the first model are to adopt the modern model in the organisation of their homes.

Women covered by the modern model have the following problems:

- To maintain their position of equality vis-a-vis the partner and to ensure that the economic running of the home is based on consensus.

- To ensure that the distribution of expenditure of energy by the partners (and where appropriate by the children) between work outside and inside the home and the manner in which it is shared between them is made on the basis of a similar assessment of the value of different types of work and applying the common criteria of the family's greater wellbeing.

These problems give rise to the following **needs for guidance:**

- Bearing in mind existing social discrimination against women, maintaining equality of position between the partners includes having or achieving a similar occupational level and a similar standing on the labour market. This strategy gives rise to specific types of guidance in the matter of training available, maintenance, retraining, further training and specialisation, or the professional skills acquired, as also concerning available jobs. Such counselling is particularly necessary bearing in mind periods of possible enforced inactivity due to the bearing and raising of children.

- Considering the social pressure which precludes women from taking decisions in matters concerning the distribution of energy (work/activity) of the partners between work for the labour market and work in the home, there is a need for information as well adapted and complex as that required by the management of a small firm. The situation of the consumer market and the labour market, productivity in domestic work, calculation of the marginal benefits of this work etc.

In summary, the two models and their relationship, as defined by the traditional/modern progressive axes make it possible to grasp the range of

counselling needs that is resulting increasingly from the dynamic pace of women's liberation until such time as women achieve not merely a situation of equality with men but their full integration with men in a working society [3], defined as the ability to reconcile family life and working activity, which hitherto have been regarded as antagonistic. This dynamic progress is being felt by Spanish society today, regardless of whether the needs we have indicated are felt by women or not, whether they are revealed in the requests for counselling or whether such demand is non-existent, whether possibilities for counselling to fill a need exist or not and whether the labour market enables the needs to be met or prevents them from being so.

2.3 From models to social reality and the target group

To bring these two models closer together we need to look at how domestic tasks are shared between men and women in the autonomous community of Madrid and then apply this indicator to our target group.[4]

We found a generally unequal sharing of domestic work between the sexes, to a degree that the percentages of women who habitually perform all the domestic tasks is equal to the percentages of men who never perform any of them (looking after children appears to be distorted because the population concerned is only that of families with small children). We may conclude that in more than half of the homes in the Madrid community men never perform the domestic tasks which they consider to be "women's work" and this proportion has not changed over the five years separating the two studies on which we have based our work. This point

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[3] Conducir el cambio estructural. El papel de las mujeres. Report of high-level experts prepared for the General Secretariat of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). Ministry of Social Affairs/Institute for Women, 1992.

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[4] The most useful and reliable statistical source concerning the autonomous community of Madrid in this matter is the population survey of the community carried out in 1986 (ED-86) and 1991 (ED-91) by the Department of Economy and Finance - Directorate of Statistical Services. The various statistical sources used and the method used to process them and convert them into tables (TABLES 11 and 12) are described in the Annex.

indicates the persistence of one of the elements of the traditional model, namely the division of the sexes in the matter of work and society's prejudice that it is women who have to carry out domestic or "women's" work.

However there is a reduction, which may be significant, in the percentage of women who "always" perform the domestic tasks, even though this does not necessarily mean a corresponding increase in the percentage of men doing such work, since during this period the percentage of men who "always" take their share of domestic work remains practically unchanged. The change that is observable probably indicates that what is increasing is the number of both men and women not involved in domestic tasks. This movement would seem to be due to decreasing involvement on the part of younger people. In our view it is the youngest people of both sexes who are doing less domestic work in the home. This is more noticeable in the case of women, which is important in connection with our target group.

On the other hand, the group of women who always perform domestic tasks (68.1%) exceeds the number of those who are statistically classified as doing domestic work in the home (38.7%). This indicates that the problem does not merely affect women classified as doing domestic work in the home but also an active group that is either employed or studying and does a double day's work or when out of work or looking for a job does the work in the home. The problems of this group, therefore, are comparable to those of the target group in the persistence of the traditional model (TABLES 11, 12 and 13).

If we combine the degrees of involvement in the various tasks involved in running a family and the various age groups we achieve a greater approximation to our target group (TABLES 14 and 15).

A comparison of the data for 1986 and 1991 shows that apart from a general tendency for the number of women dedicated to domestic work in the home with maximum intensity is decreasing, a process of liberation is taking place among the younger generations. Thus if we take the intensity of involvement of women who

"always" do work in the home as the most significant figure, this in 1986 and for the 13 to 24 age group involvement was 27.5%, whereas by 1991 it had dropped to 12.9%. In the 25 to 30 age group the drop was 15.1 percentage points and in the following 35 to 44 group 9 points. In the case of those over-45s the drop was 10.5 points. These differences indicate a process of women's liberation involving the variables civil status, educational level and activity, because of the relationship they bear to the degrees of involvement of men and women in domestic work in the home (TABLE 16).

The marriage and child-bearing factors would seem decisive, with marriage carrying a greater weight in whether or not women devote themselves to work in the home, since its influence on men is much less. Marriage is the most important factor in sex discrimination and it would appear that before young women find a partner they require very specialist counselling so that when they are confronted with this decision they have the information necessary to arrange with their partner an organisation of their joint economy in line with the modern model, since otherwise social forces will militate against their independence and future working career.

Training is a progressive factor. Women who have attended secondary school (influence of vocational training) and with long periods of higher study (influence of university education) show a 15 point lower figure for their involvement in domestic work in the home. This difference is very possibly due to their better position on the job market. It is probable that it is the group of university-educated men and women that most frequently adopts the modern model of partnership organisation. A lack of education on the men's part would seem to be a factor contributing to the upholding of the traditional model, and conversely, a greater level of education on the part of men very significantly increases their willingness to become involved in domestic tasks. These indicators demonstrate the importance of counselling in the educational system and its possibilities for reducing discrimination against women by contributing to a transformation of the internal organisation of homes.

The figures for those having a job outside the home reveal the anomaly of a fall in the number of women "unemployed with no work experience" who "always" are involved in domestic work when, in theory they should be the ones who are more intensively involved. The explanation is, of course, that this is the group with most of the younger women, many of them students (the criteria adopted for purposes of classification for activity precludes any distinction being made between those out of work and those not part of the workforce and, within this group, students and those who devote themselves to domestic work. With the exception of this anomaly, the 23 points which separate those in work from those out of work with some previous working experience show the positive influence on women of gainful employment even though, as we have mentioned, this factor is not alone sufficient to overcome the social determinism which causes domestic work to be regarded as "women's work". This means that a substantial part of the women forming part of the working population and in employment have two jobs - that outside the home and domestic work in the home - demonstrating the need for professional counselling for women to make up for their previous disadvantaged situation. On top of this comes the need for counselling to enable them, with their partner, to adopt the "modern organisational model".

A survey carried out in 1989 by the Directorate-General for Women of the autonomous community of Madrid, covering 2000 women aged between 16 and 65, yielded the following information concerning the number of hours women spent daily on domestic work. Although reference was made to intensity or frequency in previous reports, there was no information as to the length of time actually spent on such work).

Classification based on number of children:

Women with no children	2.5 hours
Women with one or two children	6.4 hours
Women with three or four children	7.4 hours

Classification by age group:

Women aged from 16 to 19	1.4 hours
Women aged from 20 to 24	3.2 hours

Women aged from 25 to 35	5.4 hours
Women over 35	6.5 or more

Classification by civil status:

Unmarried	2.0 hours
Married	6.7 hours

Classification by educational level:

Higher education (short or long courses)	3.3 hours
Secondary school	3.7 hours
Less than secondary school	6.5 hours

Classification according type of activity

Housewife	7.4 hours
Full-time employee	3.1 hours
Part-time employee	4.5 hours
Out of work	4.8 hours
Student	1.3 hours

In February 1990 a limited survey was conducted in Barcelona on the subject of social class. This covered 250 women with two children aged under 16 and living with their partner. The results, regarding time dedicated to domestic work in the home which are indicative, were:

	Lower class	Middle class	Upper class
Women	8.47 hours	9.9 hours	7.22 hours
Men	2.16 "	3.3 "	2.43 "
Children (m/f)	1.0 "	0.39 "	0.23 "

This data confirms and supplements what we have already learned about the intensity of women's involvement in domestic work and the differences regarding men based on the same criteria.

In summary:

1. Alongside the target group - young women whose only activity is domestic work in the home - and sharing its problems and needs, is a much larger group which, even though statistically classified as forming part of the working population, are in a similar position because they also perform domestic tasks.

The "two-job" situation is particularly marked among the group of young women, which raises the problem of the need for vocational and job counselling of the target group over and above the specific objective of training for employment or even on the job. It was found that even when a woman has found a job, the problem of sex discrimination which considers housework a purely woman's task persists among employed couples.

The persistence of this social prejudice, which channels women into a very old, sex-based division of labour, reveals the need for specific counselling to enable them to compensate for this lack of equality, namely counselling and training in occupational matters and matters connected with the organiation and sharing of domestic tasks to ensure that equal opportunity becomes reality.

2. The blackest area among young women and where their disadvantaged position is most noticeable is at the stage when they set up a new home. Marriage is the more extreme example but entering into a stable partnership also makes itself sufficiently felt.

Child-bearing, which significantly increases time spent on domestic work, is the second reason for discriminating against young women.

Where there is undoubtedly a relationship between the two factors marriage and child-bearing, it is the former that really has the greater effect. A higher level of education and, even more so, a higher job level play their part when women come

to leave their jobs after marriage. Job level has a definite influence on women who manage to keep on working.

The specific need for vocational counselling which stems from these problems appear before the actual causes, marriage and child-bearing.

3. Young women's general need for vocational counselling is thus defined as the need for more and better training than that given to their male counterparts, to enable them to approach the labour market on a genuinely equal footing and to cope with the financial organisation of a home.

4. On top of these needs, which we may consider prophylactic and applying to all young women, come those of the women within our target group and those who already have to put up with two jobs. These are the urgent and specific needs which derive from their situation.

It is clear that, referring to a much wider group, the counselling needs of the target group are twofold:

- Training compatible with their situation which enables them to acquire, retain and increase their occupational skills so that they can return to work when they wish to do so, preventing a deterioration in knowledge and skills due to inactivity and encouraging them to keep their vocational knowhow up to date - bearing in mind the new qualification and skill requirements and where appropriate, the need for additional occupational training.

- Training required for the economic reorganisation of their own home.

- Appreciation of the economic value of work which they do within the home Productivity, the necessary equipment and its optimum use. Attribution of

a market value to the goods or services equivalent to those produced in the home. Marginal profits which work may generate. Attribution of value to domestic work carried out by the actively employed and to the goods which represent the inputs they make and which are added to those produced within the home.

- Attribution of a value to work women do outside the home and counselling as regards the training necessary to enter the market on the best terms. Design of a project for optimum organisation of the home bearing in mind all the previous points, and a plan for implementation. Ability to negotiate with the partner.

The various needs outlined do not appear to shape demand for vocational counselling or appear to do so only in part. However to a large extent this distortion between need and demand is due to the fact that the appropriate guidance is not available, or that where it does exist it does not effectively reach the young women at whom it is aimed.

3. Counselling services available

The first and fundamental point that emerges concerning the availability of vocational counselling for the target group is that, no specific counselling programme exists either in this particular case or in general as far as women who devote themselves to domestic work throughout Spain are concerned. Hitherto a traditional model marking a frontier between work in the home and work on the open market operated in Spanish society. This does not mean that the target group has no access to vocational counselling, but that in their particular case there is no specific counselling taking account of the various factors which determine their position as housewives dedicated to domestic work.

Generally speaking, vocational training for the population as a whole is the responsibility of the Ministry of Education and Science, the Ministry of Labour and Social Security and the Ministry of Social Affairs (on which the Institute for Women and the Institute for Youth depend). There are thus three ministries which are frequently jointly involved in counselling programmes and planning. Also at the whole-of-Spain level, the trade unions offer their own counselling facilities. The autonomous communities, and in our case the autonomous community of Madrid, also offers counselling serices. So do the local authorities. To all this must be added other counselling initiatives on the part of the public, semi-public, and private sectors.

3.1 **The Ministry of Education and Science**

Prior to the situation which defines this target group the various members receive the counselling generally provided under the educational system. This is exclusively focused on the world of work. Since domestic work is regarded as a natural activity that is consequently performed free of charge in the context of family and child-bearing, it is felt not to require either counselling or training. The various tasks involved in house-work are not the subject of any training except that given in the family home. This is becoming rarer and rarer because of the impact of compulsory education, the pressures of consumerism and the fact that no value is accorded to domestic work. This latter fact becomes clear when we realise that even those who are paid to do domestic work for others have no recourse to counselling and training services. The qualifications of the people concerned are not even low; they are non-existent.

However, sexual equality has for several years now been a source of preoccupation and attention on the part of the teaching body as a whole and specifically of those concerned with nursery school and primary education. Making both boys

and girls equally responsible for all types of work, including tidying and cleaning the classroom, is becoming a regular practice in schools, particularly in the urban and more developed areas such as Madrid and its zone of influence. This practice, however, is in many cases countered by the attitudes instilled into young children in their own homes.

To date the autonomous community of Madrid has not had competence in educational matters transferred to it and is part of what is known as the "territory of the Ministry of Education and Science", which includes those autonomous communities awaiting transfer of authority.

Counselling services such as María Luisa Rodríguez outlines in her paper[5)] are available to all school children from the age of 6 onwards. These facilities are provided by the services of the Ministry of Education and Science which are in the throes of reorganisation and planning (the most important change will affect compulsory secondary education with the introduction of what are referred to as "professional and counselling modules" and "vocational training modules in work centres").

This counselling seeks to develop the most relevant characteristics of pupils' personalities together with their ability to stand on their own feet and, for children in the 12 to 16 age group, to familiarise them with the world of work in general and certain occupations in particular and to make them aware of the need to select a job or style of life with a view to the future.

At present the educational system is itself becoming directly occupationally oriented. Teachers' awareness of the fact that their female pupils will have to take on domestic tasks and that some of these pupils will not, once they have married and had children, have any prospect of life outside the home unless it is actively

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5) María Luisa Rodríguez, Educational and vocational guidance services in Spain. Contribution to a study co-ordinated by A.G. Watts et al. for the Commission of the European Communities, 1993.

put to them only influences counselling to a minor extent.

In the case of the target group this lack of guidance has little effect on the youngest group - the 15 to 18 year-olds - who in general are not involved in domestic tasks. In the case of the other two groups however, the impact will depend on the date of marriage and on the arrival of children. The fact that both these events are now tending to occur at a later age in Spain means that it is the 24 to 29 year age group who are required to take a number decisions regarding the organisation of their life for the immediate future which they have not planned and with regard to which it is difficult to take up a personal, well-argued position.

3.1.1 **Other counselling facilities**

The Ministry of Education and Science in collaboration with other bodies, particularly the local authorities, has provided what are known as "social guarantee programmes" in order to assist young people to re-enter the educational system and improve their chances of finding a job. These programmes are aimed at pupils over 16 who have had learning difficulties, as also young people who do not wish to continue at school or who left school at 16 without having achieved the objectives of compulsory secondary education. The Ministry considers that the educational and vocational counselling that will accompany a pupil's gradual progress through the second cycle of compulsory secondary education will ensure that the number of such young people decreases.

In its turn the General Subdirectorate for Continuing Education, which comes under the Ministry of Education and Science, introduced a continuing education plan for adults in which both the Institute for Women and the National Institute of Employment participate. This plan is aimed at women of over 25 who are preferably registered with the employment offices or else do not know how to read

and write correctly and wish to learn, or who wish to acquire some form of training which will enable them to obtain a job or return to work after a lengthy period of absence.

In 1991 3504 women who felt they fell into the group concerned registered with the Plan for Continuing Adult Education in the autonomous community of Madrid through the National Institute for Employment and the Institute for Women. Of these 200 were invited to information sessions, although only 160 attended. Of this 160, 122 women showed an interest. Of these 122 women who were questioned concerning their availability to attend courses, only 8 could attend courses in the morning, 21 in the afternoon and 54 said they had no time. Thus of the original 3504 women, only 68 remained to benefit from the programme. The reasons for this vary considerably but in the case of those who were obviously interested the difficulty lay in combining the necessary work in the home with attending courses.

In the case of the autonomous community of Madrid it is impossible to decide how far the social guarantee plans are operating, who takes advantage of them and how well they are working. It would seem that generally speaking they are attended more by young men than young women, possibly because for young women it is more usual to decide to stay home and lend a hand in the domestic work or to take on a job with a family, temporary employment, sporadic employment etc.

The empirical studies carried out in Spain on the hidden employment of women (Living and Working Conditions in Spain) show that the degree of irregularity (total population in work divided by the number of people irregularly in work) is highest in the case of women (36% of those in gainful employment work only sporadically), particularly younger women. This irregularity of employment declines as the educational level rises, so that the probability of becoming incorporated in the parallel circuits of the labour market is greater in the case of the illiterate and those who have not attended school. Civil status seems to have

a differentiating influence here in that the degree of irregularity of employment of married women is almost four times that of married men. It is on this group of women that a substantial part of domestic work is concentrated, a situation found uniformly throughout the whole territory of Spain. It should be pointed out that in a large percentage of cases irregularity of employment in the case of women is due to the fact that they do not pay social security because they are covered by the contributions of their father or their husband. The fact that non-working married women do not contribute directly to the social security system is further evidence of the financial dependence of our target group and of the need for counselling to enable them to realise this situation and generate the appropriate demand.

These two programmes are undoubtedly of interest for our target group. Failure to achieve certain minimum levels of education has the effect not only of closing off access to the labour market but also has negative effects on family relations and on the education of children.

3.2 **The Ministry of Labour and Social Security**

In the study to which we have already referred María Luisa Rodríguez describes both the counselling facilities offered by the National Institute of Employment and the critical situation in which it finds itself, a circumstance affecting all the programmes in which it is involved. The current process of decentralisation and the granting of autonomy is one factor contributing to the Institute's gradual disintegration. Since counselling offered by the National Institute of Employment is discussed in the work mentioned, we shall outline only the aspects affecting the target group with which we are concerned.

The counselling services of the National Institute of Employment[6)] are open to all those in the active workforce but nonetheless give priority to certain groups, among them young people seeking their first job, women in jobs in which they are under-represented and women who have difficulty finding a job - all of whom may

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6) Publications: Guide to Work. Career Information. Options available on completion of the various stages of the educational system.

be related to our target group.

It is worth stressing that the counselling facilities offered by the National Institute of Employment pose one serious difficulty as far as the target group is concerned. They are devised and organised with working people in mind and it is impossible for a housewife constrained by the demands of domestic work to use them. Women wishing to utilise these services must first register with the employment office in their district, since in order to qualify they must come under the heading of the working population. They must then suffer the inconveniences of time, need to travel, duration of courses etc. which can make training incompatible with the performance of their domestic tasks, particularly if they have small children.

3.3 **The Ministry of Social Affairs**

The Institute for Women

In 1987 the Institute for Women, which previously came under the Ministry of Culture and today comes under the Ministry of Social Affairs and is a body specifically aimed at promoting sex equality, presented a hundred or so measures grouped together in a plan for equal opportunity for women. This resulted in the signing of agreements with the Ministry of Labour and the National Institute for Employment. As part of the Third Programme (1991-95) in the third quarter of 1993 the Institute officially submitted its second plan (1993- 1995). This sets itself 10 major objectives which in turn break down into 172 specific measures generally designed to overcome the logic separating the home and work in order to make equal opportunity a reality.

Both the objectives and the measures designed to achieve them fit our target group in some way or another, in that they are generally concerned with the inequality suffered by women. However, for our target group we would stress

particular measures referring either to the involvement of women in the world of work and the plan entitled New Opportunities for Women which comes under the Community Initiatives for Resources, or those measures designed to ensure an equal distribution of domestic responsibilities by specific action: increasing the number of nursery schools and children's restaurants available, adjusting working hours to school hours etc.

A description of available facilities resulting from the plans for equal opportunities for women developed in response to the initiative of the European Community would seem unnecessary, but it is worth highlighting a number of points.

Insofar as they go hand in hand with effective awareness campaigns, these initiatives will undoubtedly have a positive effect on women and specifically on our target group, although this is difficult to quantify. However, when in practice women try to access these initiatives through the Institute for Women, the abundance of leaflets dealing with the subject and the complex of organisations and institutions over which they are spread are an obstacle rather than a help. The problem is greater in the case of our target group, which is defined by its confinement to the home. Access is easier through associations and centres near the home and the Institute for Women publishes a guide to associations and centres of interest with this in mind.

When it comes to making the transition to the world of work - an area covered by the National Institute of Employment - young people are offered an Information Plan for job seekers. In the case of women this comes under the Institute for Women and is called a "Manual of Action for Women seeking Employment". This publication is available in bookshops, MABEM Job Guide 1990, and has four sections: choosing an occupation (gathering information), looking for a job (job-seeking and earning one's own living), selection methods (winning), and the minimum information which one needs to operate with (knowledge).

The Institute for Youth

The Interministerial Commission for Youth, which includes representatives of all the Ministries, is the body which draws up proposals for youth policy and submits them to the Government and then coordinates any resulting action.

The Integrated Youth Plan covers all the initiatives and action campaigns taken by the Spanish Government with youth in mind. It is open to all young people and gives especial support to certain groups, among them women. The subject-matter comes under the heading of equality of opportunity where the plan promotes action in line with the plan for equal opportunities for women and with the plan for training and entry to the world of work. Finally, the Institute plans educational measures designed to avoid the allocation of social roles as a function of sex and the equitable sharing of domestic responsibilities. Evaluation of the Integrated Youth Plan uses various indicators but generally speaking these do not include sex and never a classification of beneficiaries by age group.

The possibility of members of the target group knowing about or having access to this plan and the various activities it involves is practically nil. However, it is important to remember its relevance to the needs and requirements of young women today, even those who are not married, and in the forming of their personal and occupational strategies.

3.4 The trade unions

Trade unions, the Unión General de Trabajadores (UGT) and the Comisiones Obreras (CC.OO.) are generally involved in matters of policy concerned with counselling. Vocational counselling and training of women is allowed for in their action programmes and there are specific departments and committees composed of and working for women (the UGT has a Department for Women, as does the Comisiones Obreras.

However because it does form part of the nation's workforce the target group per se is not an area of concern to the unions. The position of the unions with regard to housewives has been and is ambiguous. While they undoubtedly encourage the inclusion of women in the world of work, there is the fact that their potential clientele, the working class, is not only generally reluctant to allow women to work outside the home unless this is financially unavoidable, but also considers that allowing women to take jobs will make jobs harder to get. On the other hand, the work most accessible to the target group - work in the submerged economy, or in small firms and self-employment - are all matters of second rank for the unions. Comisiones Obreras in particular has concerned itself with the subject of domestic work, but more from the point of view of women who do this work for others, thus domestic servants, an activity which is included under personal and domestic services, and not from the point of view of housewives.

The unions recognise that it was the feminist movement that first sought recognition of the social value of domestic work but point out that in a country like Spain where the role assigned to women is still old-fashioned and tending to confine them to the home, to claim a salary for housework if anything helps to consolidate the housewife role. Both unions have departments and specific committees concerned with women and also provide training courses and job counselling for them, but from the point of view of activity outside the home. In the case of Comisiones Obreras and as regards our target group, the main concern is to promote measures designed to improve the social infrastructure - transport, creches etc - and to encourage a change of thinking so that people begin to consider it desirable for women to go out to work and that family obligations should be more equitably shared. The Unión General de Trabajadores (UGT) is mainly active in opinion forming.

3.5 The autonomous community of Madrid

1989 saw the creation of the Directorate-General for Women which comes under the Department of the Presidency of the autonomous community of Madrid and has a mandate to approve a plan for equality. Some 80% of the budget of the new Directorate-General was earmarked for training activities.

Faced with the choice of running a specific programme or participating in the plan for employment in the community of Madrid the Directorate-General chose the second option and decided to contribute funds and criteria (employment quota for women under the various programmes, quality of jobs created, presence of women among the promoters and the placement of women with special difficulties) to the employment plan.

1990 brought the creation of a programme for the assistance of firms run by women in order to foster women's entrepreneurial initiative and self-employment. Of the 155 projects submitted, 128 were approved. 90% of these projects relate to the service sector: other services, commerce, hotel and catering, education and health. 60% of the firms were set up in the municipality of Madrid, 15% in the metropolitan area and the rest in other towns. 57% of jobs created were taken by women of under 30 years of age and 36% by women who had been out of working life for more than 5 years.

The programme of local authority subsidies to encourage the development of infrastructures designed to encourage employment helped with the creation in four towns of training centres for women known as "Casas de la Mujer".

The occupational training programme run by the Directorate- General for Women includes a number of innovations. Preliminary training courses were tripled and occupational training courses doubled, and even then demand was not satisfied.

27 local authorities joined the programme, publicity was increased, a training institute - Instituto Madrileño de Formación - was opened and the occupational content of courses was enhanced on the basis of a study of the job market. Subsidies were obtained for training promoted by women's associations, a second programme involving the temporary employment of 32 so-called "equality agents" (30 women and 2 men) was undertaken under an agreement with the National Institute of Employment and with 15 local authorities whose function is to provide information and advise on regional plan for women's equality.

As Begoña San José Serrano points out,[7] the measures undertaken related mainly to two groups of women. Students attending vocational training courses are generally speaking unemployed people who stopped work to dedicate themselves to bringing up children and now wish to return to work. This is a group particularly in need of specific measures both as regards training and retraining and in order to ensure that their job skills are appreciated by their employers. The other group is that of women who are entrepreneurs. This group divides into trained women with experience who wish to become more independent and women who stopped work or are under-employed and see self-employment as a means of survival. The group given least attention in the various activities of the Directorate-General for Women is the group of unemployed young women.

On the other hand, measures taken on the employment front by the Directorate-General for Women have benefited from the very willing cooperation of the local authorities in the region, with the possible exception of the capital. However, coordination of efforts and cooperation with the National Institute for Employment is clearly regarded as insufficient and explained by the latter's minimal decentralisation. The relationship between the Directorate-General for Women and unions and firms has been good, whereas that with women's associations would seem to have lacked impetus.

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[7] Begoña San José Serrano: Acción positiva hacía las mujeres en los planes de empleo e igualdad de la Comunidad de Madrid 1989-1991. Revista de Economía y Sociología del Trabajo, No. 13/14. Ministry of Labour and Social Security.

Occupational training courses organised specifically for women in 1991 were studied in order to assess the real number of jobs obtained, jobs rejected, the number of job offers awaiting contract, and potential jobs. Although only 250 women attended the courses that year, 10% rejected job offers, mostly because they were not compatible with their domestic duties.

Occupational training courses organised in 1993 for women falling into our target group has the advantage over other training available, such as that of the National Institute for Employment, that qualification to attend does not include the requirement that a person be part of the working population. Instead the educational level of candidates is taken into consideration.

One fruit of the concern of the Directorate-General for Women of the autonomous community of Madrid to help women in the Madrid area obtain jobs is its partnership with private firms who cooperate in providing counselling and subsequent training in traditional trades such as jewellery, woodworking, glass-making etc. which were formerly taught at the art and trades schools. While the courses available are very limited from every point of view, they are possibly the most accessible to women in the target group by virtue of their flexibility. The Directorate-General for Women similarly seeks to conclude agreements with the local authorities of the greater Madrid area with the aim of promoting firms run by women and self-employment.

Finally, the arrangement made by the regional government of the autonomous community of Madrid with the Second Plan for equal opportunities for women is gradually being put into effect.

In order to provide information and make women aware of the opportunities made available to women resident in the autonomous community of Madrid, by the local authorities and the various organisations and bodies created by the social movements, the Directorate-General for Women has begun work on the production

of a guide which is said to be produced using a database that will permit it to be updated. If the plan takes off it will in part solve the serious problem of lack of information and confusion that women suffer when faced with so varied a range of facilities.

The Department for Social Integration of the autonomous community of Madrid is responsible for an organisation known as Ingreso Madrileño de Integración (IMI). The programme, in which the Institute for Women is involved and which is only open to people living in the capital city, has assisted 36,000 people and 12,056 families since it was created in October 1990 and up to June 1992. This assistance involves both financial help (ESP 30,000) and undertakings on the part of the beneficiary to carry out some form of activity, whether to learn to read or write or to follow a course of vocational training depending on what the social worker concerned considers appropriate in each case. 68% of people who turn to the IMI are women, 56% of them are between 25 and 44 years of age - of which 78% have not obtained any school-leaving certificate - while almost half are housewives. These figures will be discussed separately in connection with the most disadvantaged and marginalised section of the target group.

3.5.1 **The Patronato Madrileño de Areas de Montaña (PAMAM)**

This organisation, which was set up in 1986, is responsible for government intervention in mountainous rural areas in the autonomous community of Madrid. It groups together a total of 62 towns, only four of which have more than 2000 inhabitants. Its principal objective is to achieve an optimum population level so as to ensure a rational use of local resources and assure the inhabitants of an adequate standard of living.

According to the report of the Directorate-General for Women, agricultural mechanisation has caused many jobs formerly done by women to disappear and in other cases led to them being done by men. On the other hand, work involving production for home consumption has lost its economic sense and as a consequence young women are looking for jobs in industry or in the service sector which give

them financial independence and enable them to break with their subordinate role. Young women living in rural areas suffer from the contradiction between expectations based on their education and training and familiarity with an urban culture, and the patriarchal mode of organisation of agricultural work.

In the rural centres of the Madrid sierra there used to be training centres which have now been closed. These training centres were financed by the National Institute for Employment and offered standard courses unrelated to the specific problems of these areas. Currently the Patronato feels that its activities should be directed not to proposing courses but to meeting demand and that counselling and training must go hand in hand with local development.

Purposeful support for the integrated, endogenous development of these areas by attracting tourism is in the interest of the target group. Initiatives taken up by women in their homes are assisted with grants of money and training. Such initiatives include adapting houses to make them suitable for guests, small restaurants, dressmaking shops etc.

3.5.2 The Training Institute (IMAF)

The Instituto para la Formación de la Comunidad de Madrid - IMAF (Training Institute of the autonomous community of Madrid) was set up in 1993 to continue the counselling and training activities formerly undertaken by the Department of Education. This Institute, which has the cooperation of union and employers' associations, is seeking to meet the need to modernise the public sector and the vocational training needs of the people of Madrid, while contributing to a better coordination of efforts and concentration of resources.

In its first year of operation the Institute ran 500 courses attended by a total of 18,000 students, half of whom were women. The courses were held both in the capital city and in other towns within the autonomous community. The courses are

at three levels - introductory, training, and qualification - and the Institute has published a guide providing detailed information on the courses free of charge.

3.6 **Local authorities**

The geographical environment which is closest and therefore theoretically most suitable for guidance for the target group are the towns in which the women live. Practically all the local authorities of the autonomous community of Madrid have women's information and advisory centres and some centres depending on other bodies such as the Institute for Women, the Department for Social Integration, or women's associations and non-governmental organisations.

At the beginning of 1993, 19 towns in the autonomous community had a plan for women's equality involving women's associations, the unions, political parties and groups within the Municipal Council for Women. These plans seek to bring the objectives and the activities available under the equality plans to local women.

The large number of centres for women, and the widely differing services available, which is a particular problem in the case of the capital city, has led us to concentrate on one local authority in the autonomous community of Madrid.

In the municipality of Móstoles, the principal counselling centres to which women in our target group can turn are the Agustina de Aragón Adult Education Centre and the Youth Information and Documentation Centre.

The Directorate for Women is an organisation that comes under the local authority and was created in January 1992. It seeks to organise programmes of positive action to encourage equal treatment and opportunity for women in Móstoles, one

of its aims being to provide legal, psychological and social advice in cases of ill-treatment, separation, divorce, sexual harassment etc., educational and vocational advice and guidance (courses of study available, ways of finding a job). Despite its advertising, women tend to learn of the Directorate's existence from talking to their neighbours while younger women have the idea that its activities are directed to older women.

The Aula de Mujer or Women's Forum has, according to one of the people running the centre, enabled women to escape from domestic routine, become aware of the problems of inequality and to a degree realise the need to combat their social marginalisation. The Forum is also a place to which women return after attending courses leading to the school certificate or a vocational training course, until such time as they find work.

The Agustina de Aragón Adult Education Centre which comes under the Ministry of Education and Science has been operating for 14 years. This Centre is attended by women of every age but an official informed us that women of between 16 and 19 years of age who fall into our target group generally do so at the instigation of their families and their expectations are of marriage or of gaining an office or commercial job. The 20 to 24 age group tends to be composed of women who have already attended the Centre and who continue to be interested in academic courses while the 24 to 29 age group is the one which shows most interest in actually finding work.

On the subject of civil status, this same official informed us that it is married women who stay longest to complement their education, since they do not wish to stay shut up at home and such work as is available - helping at the local hospital etc. - is difficult to combine with their task of running a home. These women are

sometimes prevented from continuing their education by their husbands.

The Youth Information and Documentation Centre, which comes under the Municipal Youth Delegation, mainly organises cultural and sporting activities and publishes a magazine "Moscón" giving information on the various activities of young people in the district. It is also the location for courses organised by the local authority through the Instituto Madrileño para la Formación.

The final point of interest as regards our target group is that Móstoles has a birth control and sexual counselling centre set up by private initiative.

3.7 **Other organisations**

To attempt an exhaustive account of the various initiatives which in one way or another and in varying degrees are concerned with matters of interest to women and provide counselling would render this report interminable, although a number of these organisations are very powerful. One of them is Cáritas which in the Madrid diocese organises a programme of vocational counselling and guidance aimed mainly at young people who have had difficulties in their school, working and social environments.

The Red Europea de Mujeres en España - REM (European Women's Network in Spain), in cooperation with the Institute for Women, has published material concerning a conference held in 1988 on the subject of combating women's poverty in Spain. This publication informs and warns about the situation of separated and divorced women - divorce was only legalised in Spain in 1981. This is a problem which is becoming more public and ties in with the general awareness of women regarding their rights as human beings.

The European Women's Network considers that most Spanish women's lack of knowledge concerning their rights as individuals and in matters concerning the

marriage contract tends to encourage a condition of subjection and dependence, abuse arbitrary treatment and insecurity, and keeps them tied to the home. Apart from the two criteria normally applied in order to determine that poverty exists - income and recourse to social assistance - it is felt that exclusion from work, a situation typical of our target group, is a criterion of poverty regardless of family situation. Women who devote themselves to domestic work in the home are dragged down first by structural poverty resulting from their lack of personal income and secondly by a situational poverty resulting from their financial dependence. The latter is more marked in rural and disadvantaged urban environments, to a point at which such women constitute a risk group threatened by personal and social disintegration.

Apart from the group of separated and divorced women the Network raised the problem of women not yet separated from their husbands, which covers women living in a situation of family crisis that cannot be solved because of a lack of financial, human and psychological resources. According to the European Women's Network, cultural impositions such as the value of motherhood, the irreplaceability of women in the rearing and educating of children and the attitude that only a bad mother will not subject herself to the traditional role assigned to her, are deciding and immobilising factors which confine women to the narrow circle of the home.

The Informe Nacional de España - a report which gathers together the proposals made at the conference on combating women's poverty - points out that it is not the voluntary or enforced break-up of a traditional family which pushes women into poverty. On the contrary, it is the fact that woman's skills and time tend to be devoted exclusively to the family during the best years of her life that leads to poverty and a hopeless outlook on the part of women. The report stresses that traditional marriage is not a factor contributing to women's vocational, cultural, or social enrichment in terms of relationships and opportunities but a spatial and temporal limitation in every regard. All these considerations can be applied to the women in our target group.

In conclusion: it is almost impossible to describe the various types of counselling facilities that are in some way related to our target group because there is no specific range of facilities due to the lack of group identity of women devoted to domestic work. Such women tend to have recourse to counselling facilities not designed specifically for them on an individual basis or because they have heard of them from friends or neighbours.

However, the various plans for equal opportunity for women have an undoubted impact on the target group, particularly at the level of awareness and information. However, this advantage could well be lost when the plans embark upon specific activities carried out by a large number of organisations that are difficult to access. The greatest difficulty is the capital city itself where contact between neighbours is much less than in towns in the greater Madrid area. In these towns the possibility of offering counselling facilities to our target group are greater.

If describing the counselling facilities available is difficult, assessing their degree of use is even more so.

4. The target group's use of counselling facilities

Vocational counselling and training services are largely sought out at the moment of transition between school and work when young people of both sexes launch out into the working world. For years now - the change can be pinpointed to the decade of the sixties - most women have not just sat at home without taking a job, learning from their mothers how to run a home until such time as they marry and set up a home of their own. Except in the case of young women who marry immediately they leave school most women, including those of our target group, set out on a course of vocational training and work, even though some of them already know that this will only be temporary because they will get married. This undoubtedly renders them less ambitious. It is possible, therefore, that some of the women in our target group have utilised counselling services, but mostly before

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becoming housewives or some after having done so but not from this situation, which interrupts women's training or working life, at least temporarily.

The dichotomy between life inside and life outside the home means that women in our target group cannot easily demand vocational counselling in direct relation to the situation in which they find themselves. Requests are made from a position of having a job or actually looking for one, not from a situation of someone not part of the working population who devotes her time to domestic work. The fact that the target group does not use vocational counselling and training facilities does not mean that there is no demand for it. Nor does the fact that they do not express this kind of demand indicate that they do not need vocational counselling and training. What it does mean is that there are no facilities available that take account of their situation. And, since the supply does not exist, demand remains unexpressed.

In Spain, thanks to the General Law on Education of 1970 and the push for equal opportunity for both sexes which the law proposed, during the seventies the feminist movements and their fight against social discrimination of women began to gain a hearing among women. As the nineties get under way and the countries of the EC have launched plans for equal opportunities for women, the target group feels the need for training, but for a training which is mainly educational and cultural and which is useful to them as housewives called upon the bring up their children.

In the autonomous community of Madrid specifically, an increasing number of courses of this type are being asked for and attended by these women. However both the demand generated by such courses and the courses themselves are seen merely as a cultural activity to fill in free time. They are aimed mainly at women whose children are at school and who have relatively little to do at home. However, the existence of such courses and the corresponding demand for them

reveals certain needs which did not exist in the traditional family model and which have been encouraged by social progress. Today this same progress is stimulating an increasing need for vocational and occupationally slanted training for the members of our target group.

Creating awareness, altering attitudes, and the in-depth consideration of the problems created by a patriarchal family structure which goes hand in hand with plans for sexual equality are of undeniable value. However, to the extent that they do not help to reconcile family life and working life they prevent offers of equality becoming reality for most of the women in the group we are considering.

The fact that there is in practice very little discrimination against women in the Spanish educational system and the aim to do away with discrimination against women in the world of work are not sufficient to ensure that women in general can consider an active involvement in society comparable to that of men. And this affects both the women in our target group and any women who are involved in domestic work in the home. Equality of opportunity as it exists today is not enough.

Persuading women, particularly those in our target group, to give voice to their needs and to the lack of vocational counselling and training, will call for a restructuring of society that will do away with the present dichotomy between work in the home and work outside the home, between production and reproduction. Just as equality of opportunity has begun to destroy the relationship of dependency between reproduction and production, between work in the home, the province of women, and work outside the home, the province of men, domestic work now has to be put on a par with other work.

4.1 Counselling needs of the various subgroups within the target group

The nuclear family, the compartmentalisation of the home, the few occasions open to housewives to enjoy social relationships other than those connected with their

domestic tasks largely explain the absence of demand for counselling on their part. Housewives' isolation and lack of communication are closely linked to the type of family relationships they enjoy, which is determined by the head of the family. Even today in the autonomous community of Madrid, depending on where a couple live, and on their financial, professional and social standing, there are housewives who do not even feel the need for training. However there are also those who, although they feel the need for cultural and even vocational guidance, cannot call for it, much less take advantage of it, because the head of the family is against it. This fact reveals the need for information and counselling, not just for the target group but for those whose way of thinking, attitudes and behaviour prevent this need from burgeoning.

In the autonomous community of Madrid the nearness of the capital city palliates the negative effects of a rural location on family relationships and where more modern ideas prevail they upset these relationships or even lead to their breakdown. These effects make themselves felt in certain rural and mountainous areas within the autonomous community and link up with the counselling services provided there by the Patronato Madrileño de Areas de Montaña (PAMAN).

At the same time, in the municipal areas of greater Madrid where contact between neighbours is much closer than in the capital city itself, largely thanks to the work being done by a variety of social workers and agents, there is a growing demand from women in our target group for educational, cultural and even vocational guidance which in the capital city is much more individualised. Worth pointing out is that while marriage and the birth of children are generally the determining factors that bring women into our target group, in the case of Madrid the birth of children is more important than marriage.

On the other hand, the figures show that women in general, including those of our target group who have worked before, tend more to demand counselling and training services.

This apparently works to the benefit of women who abandon the educational system at the age of 16 on completing their compulsory education and to the disadvantage of those who continue studying until they reach an age at which they marry or enter into a stable relationship. However, a low level of education and vocational qualification means that once young women who have some work experience get married and abandon their jobs they are more reluctant to go back to work. The few advantages and opportunities offered them by the world of work encourage this attitude. The same is true of those who work irregularly or in the submerged economy, as also those who do domestic work at home, as is most frequently the case of married women with few qualifications.

A higher educational level encourages women's integration into society and the world of work. Women who have enjoyed a university education - except for the diminishing group of those who marry immediately on completing their studies - try to go on working for as long as possible. In their case it is usually the arrival of children rather than marriage itself or the establishment of a stable relationship which leads them to stay at home. And this dedication goes hand in hand with a strategy for well-being and a quality of family life that leads to a greater appreciation of domestic work itself.

Learning to appreciate both the quality and financial value of domestic work is then quite natural, as is taking on domestic work when the traditional attitude that a woman's place is in the home prevails, and counselling and training seem unnecessary. But this is not necessarily the case. Appropriate training and qualifications are needed for various domestic tasks. So a yawning gap remains to be filled by personal initiative.

The other big gap in vocational counselling derives from the direct relationship between counselling and activity. The fact that the women in our target group

have no guidance which enables them, while in this situation, to obtain vocational training if they have not had it already, to retrain, to enhance their skills and to exploit the fact to achieve a relationship of equality with their partner in terms of training and vocational standing, means that problem is either not expressed or else is solved at individual level.

There is no doubt that age has its impact on demand for counselling but for counselling that is exclusively directed to the world of work. The compatibility or incompatibility of this demand and of the facilities available with work in the home are resolved one way or another beforehand, and once again on an individual basis.

The internal problems of the target group are influenced both by age and civil status. Youth and the fact of being single generally make for a greater demand for counselling and training. However, the fact of being separated or divorced rather than widowed has an effect worth mentioning, even though the presence of this group in the age groups with which we are concerned is very small.

One of the most serious problems of the target group and the problem most widely found among women who devote themselves to work in the home is that they have no personal group identity but only an identity in the context of their family. In Spain, and specifically in the autonomous community of Madrid, there are various housewives' associations who campaign about consumers' rights and against higher prices. At present most of the efforts to fight drugs in the suburbs of Madrid are being made by mothers and housewives. In this case as in others, addressing a problem collectively and publicising it encourages the sense of belonging to a group and greater confidence in making other demands. Housewives' associations are already demanding that domestic work should be more appreciated, but as yet there has been no demand for the right to work, which would go hand in hand with demand for the relevant counselling.

Separated and divorced women, however, have counselling centres where the service provided ranges from legal advice to the directly vocational. This fact shows that much of the reason why the members of the target group do not ask for or utilise counselling services is not that they do not need it but because they are dependent on the man of the household.

In conclusion, the absence of counselling and training facilities for the target group is so obvious that counsellors meeting a woman who devotes her time to housework, particularly in the target group age range, direct her to the employment offices. There are two reasons for this attitude. The first is that a great many counsellors try to take women out of the confines of the home and the poverty of a few domestic tasks, about which they themselves have a traditional view. Secondly the means of access to counselling is almost insoluble because of the previous activity situation - job seeking, unemployment, occupation.

The target group in the autonomous community of Madrid is small and growing smaller. Although classed as a group which neither demands counselling nor uses counselling services, it nonetheless needs both, whether or not the women in the group realise it. However, the fact that they are in a situation of need shows up the lack of provision in the much larger group of women in general who suffer from the lack of interaction between the family system and the world of work.

5. Recommendations to counselling services

5.1 Compatibility of domestic work with paid employment

For both the target group and the much larger group that includes almost all women of over 16, doing daily domestic work will be a feature of their whole life.

The only ones who can escape are younger women who pass the burden of these jobs to their mothers.

What is necessary is not so much to create services specifically directed to housewives, although they certainly need them and probably will ask for specific guidance that takes account of their situation, but that counsellors allow for the fact that in general women who use their services have assumed the burden of domestic work. Where the modern model of organisation of the home is realised, the previous recommendations will have little sense, but even so counsellors cannot evade the problem. It is not an easy one. Where the counsellors themselves, be they men or women, do not appreciate the value of domestic work in economic terms or in terms of wellbeing as they do any other activity, it will be difficult for them to take account of it when offering advice to others.

The need for action to reconcile domestic work with work outside the home and the complete change of attitude which this involves calls for action in connection with the educational system and its counselling services. In the case of the Spanish educational system and of modern educational systems in general, education has played a pioneering role in overcoming conservative social attitudes to the family system, and also the production system. Progress today is undergoing profound structural changes which combine the right of each of us to his own independence and autonomy with the need to reach agreements and accommodations with others. One of these changes, and not the least important, is that of ensuring the active involvement of women in society, which in turn calls for a new conception of family life and organisation. And this change will depend to a large extent on the guidance received by the new generations at the educational centres from the time they enter nursery school up to university.

At present such counselling continues to steer girls towards jobs considered suitable for woman - office work or university careers in the field of arts but less

in the field of engineering - while guiding young men towards the better-paid professions because they are the ones, the thinking goes, who in future will have to bear the responsibility of maintaining a family. The cost to young boys and girls of this type of guidance and advice is heavy.

Nowadays the changes which are taking place in industry and the labour market which are typified by decentralisation and the growing predominance of small and medium-size enterprises, the need for a more flexible labour force, the different types of work, reduced working hours, the tendency to give training on the job etc. may work to the benefit of women in general, of the majority who are housewives and of the target group specifically. This will be the case as long it does not imply - as is at present happening with part-time workers - their segregation and lower standing at the workplace. To be able to combine paid activity with work that is not paid but economically productive and to manage to combine periods of work with other periods of inactivity, to reduce working hours to provide the time needed for continuing training is today both possible and desirable. Counselling services and counsellors themselves have much to do and say in this regard.

Facing up to this problem means reversing the flow of information. Before counselling services can start work they must be aware of the needs of the potential users so as to design more appropriate facilities, thereby reversing the flow of information. Counselling services must be informed of the new needs being generated by changes in industry and the organisation of work.

5.2 Voluntary and involuntary immobility

Women who voluntarily elect to become housewives also need information enabling them to update their choice depending on the chances of the value of domestic

work being appreciated. This can be provided by institutions such as the Institute for Women through its awareness campaigns. Assuming the burden of personal and social poverty on becoming a housewife normally involves calls for a firm will capable of ensuring that dedication to domestic work forms part of the process of liberation for women who choose this voluntarily and is not an inevitable destiny that is best sublimated and accepted with resignation. Involuntary immobility, which in many cases goes hand in hand with doing two jobs, calls for more committed services situated chronologically at four different stages of a person's life, namely the period of education, the moment of transition to the world of work, abandonment of work for the family and the return to work.

5.2.1 **Educational counselling at the period of transition**

Counselling on the subject of the discrimination, inequality and dependence suffered by women in their family life must be the responsibility of the counselling services provided under the aegis of the Ministry of Education for all schoolchildren, boys and girls. The same applies to counselling in matters of family organisation which considers the allocation of domestic work on the basis of economic value and the advantages of both partners being of equal standing financially and in job terms.

At the stage of transition from school to working life there is a need for counselling for women that takes account of differing levels of qualification and timings of entry to the world of work to show them the possible future relationship between the job they are looking for and the work they will probably undertake or have to undertake in the home when they enter into a stable relationship. This should not be done to discourage, but to give them overall guidance.

5.2.2 **Counselling and temporary abandonment of work**

Counselling and training services for women who temporarily dedicate a few years of their life to rearing children would seem a must to enable them to obtain a job, keep it, retrain and improve their skills with a view to future re-entry into working life. Whatever the case, these services must be open to as many women

as may at any moment need them or ask for them, regardless of whether they have children or not.

In a good number of cases personal development work carried out in firms takes place after working hours, which causes women in general, particularly those with small children, to absent themselves or to renounce their chances of promotion or job advancement. It would seem more appropriate to dedicate this period to training instead of trying to combine two incompatibles - looking after children and carrying on with one's working life, which for many women is exhausting.

Training will have a double effect - on family life because it enables women to make good occupational shortcomings, and in terms of a better job when they come to return to work.

5.3 The value of domestic work

Appreciating the value of domestic work does not mean simply viewing it in economic terms and in terms of wellbeing. It must be realised that the activities themselves have an undoubted value as regards qualification.

Skills such as the ability to organise, to carry out a number of tasks simultaneously, to plan one's time according to the jobs to be carried out, functional flexibility etc., which are becoming increasingly prized in the world of work, are skills and qualities which women constantly exercise when doing their tasks in the home. Counsellors should convince women who seek their services that this work is of undoubted value and that this value is not less than that which the counsellors would give it if they were talking to firms.

Increasingly, counselling services do not limit their activity to satisfying demand but try to ensure that firms can trust them with the selection of staff. If at the time of making such a selection due account is taken of the skills required for domestic work, it could well be that the selection would take account of factors which hitherto have been regarded negatively. It is always more effective to persuade than to shout, whether one is dealing with children - one's own or other people's - or organising a team of workers in a factory or on a construction site.

5.4 **Hidden, insecure, temporary employment etc.**

What is referred to as "atypical" employment and is becoming increasingly frequent, generally increases the chances of women finding jobs, even though current legislation on the matter of equal opportunities has only been designed for normal employment, and the counselling services follow this criterion.

Currently this type of work offers less job security, a lower income, less good working conditions, few opportunities for job advancement and few economic benefits. Consequently women, particularly those with family obligations, abandon such jobs when they can. Where abandoning a job is in line with a conception of the family economy in which women's income is regarded as an additional contribution, there is need for active, dynamic reorientation to replace this traditional attitude with an understanding of the need for individuals to be financially and personally independent, even at the cost of accepting work below their real qualifications with lower salaries and less good working conditions.

Integration of women into society and the world of work is a priority objective in an active society and will only be achieved by avoiding a number of deceptively attractive traps.

5.4.1 **Self-employment**

In view of the current crisis and the shortage of jobs, one of the routes which bodies such as the Institute for Women at national level and the regional delegations of the various departments of the autonomous community of Madrid propose and encourage in order to integrate women into working life is setting up in business on one's own account and self-employment. This is a largely cyclical solution adopted by a peripheral minority.

The problem does not lie so much in the cyclical, minority and peripheral nature of such activity, which time and the structural changes taking place in industry will tend to solve, but in the fact that this kind of activity covers two very different conceptions of work.

. The first tries to solve the problem of unemployment resulting from the destruction of jobs by self-employment.
. The second confronts the need for workers themselves to be able to generate work. Under the capitalist system this option has hitherto been left to the initiative of entrepreneurs.

It is the second conception, not the first, that incorporates a sense of progress and liberation by causing women in the target group to be steered towards self-employment.

5.4.2 **Voluntary social work**

Traditionally a great deal of voluntary social work has been done by women maintained by their partner where they were married or by their fathers if they were unmarried and who therefore had free time available. The influence, of the Catholic church in this female activity is undeniable, not only in the case of Spain.

At present cuts in public spending on social services are encouraging a revival of this type of activity by the laity as a form of service to the community.

Since this work is available it is possible that counselling services faced with the need to advise women in the target group will channel them towards it. It is as important as it is productive but it is not remunerated. What we have said about domestic work is entirely applicable to the various forms of social work existing today.

Social progress and the structural adjustment for which this calls will not go away because some people (women with poor qualifications and those with time on their hands) prefer work without pay while others (men and women with better qualifications and in active employment) do the paid jobs. It will come because men and women, women and men with good professional qualifications take on and share work which is paid and that which is not.

PERSONS AND ORGANISATIONS CONSULTED.

INSTITUTE FOR WOMEN
- Publications Service
- Person responsible for education

INSTITUTE FOR YOUTH
- Publications Service

DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMY AND FINANCE OF THE COMMUNITY OF MADRID
- Library
- Statistical Department

DIRECTORATE-GENERAL FOR WOMEN OF THE COMMUNITY OF MADRID
- Person responsible for Studies
- Person responsible for Programmes and Employment
- Person responsible for Training

SPANISH NATIONAL LIBRARY
- Information Service

MINISTRIES OF INDUSTRY, LABOUR AND SOCIAL SECURITY
- Library

NATIONAL AND MUNICIPAL NEWSPAPER LIBRARIES
- Information Service

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL INTEGRATION OF THE AUTONOMOUS COMMUNITY OF MADRID
- Head of the Instituto Madrileño de Integración (IMI)
- Women's Department

DIRECTORATE-GENERAL FOR WOMEN, MOSTOLES
- Person responsible for Documentation and Information

AGUSTINA DE ARAGON ADULT EDUCATION CENTRE, MOSTOLES
- Interview with an official of the Ministry of Education and Science

YOUTH INFORMATION AND DOCUMENTATION CENTRE, MOSTOLES
- Person responsible for Documentation

MADRID TRAINING INSTITUTE (IMAF)
- Expert from the Research Department
- Interview with an expert from the Training Services Department

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EMPLOYMENT
- Experts at central offices

PATRONATO MADRILEÑO DE AREAS DE MONTAÑA (SPAIN)
- Interview with the Director

SECOND TARGET GROUP

Young people of both sexes affected by industrial restructuring. Location: Left Bank of the Bilbao estuary

The Left Bank of the Bilbao Estuary in the province of Vizcaya (Bizkaia) in the Basque Country (Euzkadi) is a predominantly industrial urban area. Although administratively composed of four municipalities (Barakaldo, Sestao, Santurzi and Portugalete), it belongs, together with other municipalities, to the urban outskirts of Bilbao, the capital of the province of Vizcaya in the autonomous community of the Basque country, which together form what is referred to as Greater Bilbao. Some socio-economic studies also regard the Left Bank as including the mining area represented by the municipalities of Valle de Trápaga/Trapagaran, Ortuella, Abanto/Zierbana and Muskiz). They consider that these municipalities together with the four municipalities on the Left Bank constitute a single economic region within the metropolitan area of Greater Bilbao.

However, we regard our target group as located in the area covered by the four Left Bank municipalities of Barakaldo, Sestao, Santurzi and Portugalete, although we do take the mining district into account for certain aspects of training.

1. Population

According to the population census carried out in 1991 the autonomous community of the Basque country has a population of 2,104,041, 1,033,980 of whom are males and 1,070,061 females. The province of Vizcaya is inhabited by a total population of 1,155,106, of whom 565,546 are male and 589 560 women, accounting together for 55% of the entire population of the autonomous community. The population on the Left Bank is 247,325, 121,978 of whom are male and 125 347 female, representing 21.4% of the population of Vizcaya.

TABLES 17 and 18 give figures for that portion of the population whose age and place of residence put them within the target group. These figures, which relate to 1991, were obtained from the Statistical Institute of the Basque Country.

According to the same source of information and considering civil status, unmarried people account for 88.3% of the age group with which we are concerned. Figures for the municipality of Barakaldo (a breakdown by age and sex is only available for towns of more than 100,000 inhabitants) show :

. Unmarried people of between 15 and 19 to account for almost the entire group (99.2%), while in the next age group of 20-24 their proportion drops to 90.7% and in the 25-29 age group to 60.4%. In this last group married, widowed, divorced or separated account for 39.6%.

The relationship between the need for counselling in matters of training and employment and people's civil status differs according to sex. The sex factor significantly influences the age of marriage or training for a couple in a stable relationship:

. In the first age group unmarried women account for 98.7% of the total figure whereas men account for 99.7%. The differences are more marked in the following age groups. Thus in the 20-24 age group the percentage of women who are unmarried is 86.1% and that of unmarried men 95.1%. In the 20-29 age group unmarried women represent 49.9% of their total number and men 70.6%.

The link between place of residence and place of work of the group, which is an indicator for migration within the region, is significant because of its relationship to the need for counselling in matters of training and employment, particularly since the population of the territory with which we are concerned has a language other than castellano - the official language of Spain - namely Basque, and there

is considerable pressure in the autonomous community to achieve official recognition of their language.

According to the 1991 census, the proportion of those resident in the three municipalities who were born in other autonomous communities of Spain is as follows:

Barakaldo	39.2%
Sestao	37.8%
Santurzi	26,9%
Portugalete	36.3%
Left Bank region	37.9%

Since the flow of migrants towards this region more or less ceased in the mid-seventies and has actually been reversed in recent years we may assume that the majority of the population of the target group was born in the Basque Country, although a very substantial minority will be sons or daughters of immigrants and the family will not speak Basque.

The figures obtained from the official register of residents for the municipality for 1986 (TABLE 19) reveals the following concerning the breakdown of the population in terms of economic activity:

. There is a significant negative difference between the Left Bank and the autonomous community as a whole. This difference is more marked in the case of women.

. In the municipality of Santurzi and even more in Portugalete, the proportion of the population with a school education is higher, particularly compared with Barakaldo where the figure is lowest.

. The figures as a whole show women to be considerably at a disadvantage both as regards the proportion of those forming part of the working population and those not doing so, with the latter figure higher, the same

being true of the proportion of those employed and unemployed. Also worth pointing out is that almost all housewives fall within the non-working population and only to a minor extent into the pensioner category.

The figures for the municipality of Barakaldo, whose size and structure makes it representative of the region as a whole, (TABLE 20) show that age is an obvious factor in determining whether a person forms part of the active workforce or not.

. The lowest age group shows a lower number of people forming part of the workforce as a whole, with males and females equally represented. The higher figure for those not forming part of the workforce is explained by the fact that a large proportion will still be undergoing education.

. In the second age group (20 to 24) the number of men forming part of the working population reaches an average level, but this is not the case of those employed and unemployed which are still very unfavourable. In the case of young women in this group, the proportion of those in the working population is above average, although very different from the figure for men. Here again, the unemployment figure is above average. The number of women not forming part of the working population falls here compared with the previous age group, due in part to the number of those in education.

. In the third group men achieve the highest proportion for those in the working population although the number in employment has not yet reached the average. Women in this group are more or less in the same position as in the previous group and are very probably compensating for the reduced number of those in education with an increase in the number of housewives.

The influence of civil status on whether or not a person forms part of the working population (TABLE 21) varies according to sex. The proportion of married men in the working population is higher; in the case of women it is lower, while the proportion of housewives increases substantially.

The relationship between belonging to the working population and educational level shows that in the case of women a higher level of education goes hand in hand with a greater proportion in the working population and of those in employment while the number of those not included in the working population decreases. In the case of men the proportions increase at the level of secondary schooling.

The role of education as a factor influencing women's membership of the working population would seem to be more related to their position in the home than their position on the market, or so the rates of unemployment would seem to indicate.

A drop in the rates of activity and employment for men in the group is linked to the number of those pursuing higher education and postgraduate courses.

Given the structure of the population of our target group it is possible, using the tables and data provided, to identify a number of subgroups in order to determine their differing needs and demand for counselling.

. A first group mainly composed of the youngest age group and mainly composed of males who have abandoned the formal educational system at primary level, or even before completing primary schooling or obtaining a secondary school qualification. Most of these people are unemployed, many of them are not looking for work or have temporary or casual jobs. This group is obviously seriously lacking in training and needs intensive and comprehensive counselling in terms of information and advice, although this does not generally reflect in demand, as well as occupational training at a very practical and closely supervised level, as is possible with on-the-job training.

. A second group composed of women who have abandoned their studies at any level and now dedicate themselves exclusively to domestic work. This

group is mainly made up of women who are married, separated or divorced and most have a low level of education. This group's need for counselling is the same as that stipulated in the case of the target group dealt with in the first part of this report.

. A third group of young people of both sexes who have completed secondary school and are now out of work and seeking employment. The need and demand for counselling in this case is determined by the labour market situation and calls for specific measures:

- Information concerning job availability and the qualifications called for (the need to monitor the market is obvious).
- Consideration by the counselling services of the level of education and training already achieved in order to work with the person concerned in devising a plan of supplementary training or retraining.
- Advice on how to implement the plan taking advantage of available subsidies and grants and a supervised follow-up of progress where necessary.
- In the case of women, and bearing in mind their disadvantaged position when it comes to job seeking, counselling should steer them towards the compensating plans offered by government plans for sex equality.

. A fourth group of young people of both sexes who are still at secondary school - a distinction could be made here between those who are attending vocational training courses and those who are pursuing the course leading to the baccalaureate examination. In this group the need and demand for counselling is the result of decisions to be taken regarding their future working life. Advice as well as information and assessment is in many cases indispensable. Women have a special need for information because of their socially disadvantaged position. This includes a need for information concerning the organisation of the home as referred to in the first part of this report on the first target group.

. A group of university students of both sexes who are either looking for a job because they have completed their studies or have not yet finished their course. The need and demand for training and employment in this group is generally not great. Those who do have recourse to counselling are those wishing to plan a course of postgraduate study or obtain advice about the availability of training and work in Europe, always bearing in mind the special needs of women.

2. The processes of conversion and readjustment and the impact on need and demand for counselling by young people on the Left Bank.

"The Basque Country is one of the autonomous communities that has suffered most from the economic crisis over the past fifteen years, basically due to the decline of various sectors of industry and firms which previously served as the basis for growth" [1].

According to this interesting document a long period of expansion between 1960 and 1975 was followed by a crisis which lasted until 1985 and resulted in a loss of 178,000 jobs in the Basque Country (22.4% of the total existing before the crisis began). Of this figure, job losses in industry were a net 161,000. The recovery in employment in the Basque Country in the second half of the eighties was mainly in the service sector while industry - particularly steel and heavy industry

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[1] Sortu 6 S.A, a paper submitted to the Board of Management of the company on 3 March 1993 to serve as a basis for action within the firm. Sortu 6 S.A is a new company which is partly state-owned and whose specific mission is to promote alternative industrial employment to compensate for jobs that will be disappearing on the Left Bank of the Nervión as a result of restructuring in the steel industry. This document uses the term "Left Bank" to include the municipalities we are considering, plus the mining district which is economically closely linked with the towns on the estuary shore.

situated on the Left Bank - continued to decline.

"The steel industry currently employs 18,981 people. In 1982 the figure was 32,036 and - according to the document quoted - further job cuts will be required. Without reliable current figures the first estimates for job losses as a result of industrial restructuring are between 6,000 and 8,000. This would mean an additional fall of between 31% and 42% in the current number of employed."

While in the autonomous community as a whole and particularly in Vizcaya the decline in industrial activity and its only partial replacement over the past few years by more service-sector jobs has meant a general decline which reflects in the province's ranking in terms of gross domestic product (Alava, which in 1975 was top of the league, dropped to 3rd in 1987; Guipuzcoa dropped from 3rd to 9th position and Vizcaya from 2nd to 19th). In the area with which we are concerned the impact on employment of the industrial crisis, particularly that in the steel sector, may be regarded as a catastrophe and call for further conversion of industry in the future.

The following figures for 1991 are the provisional results of the 1991 census quoted in the Sortu 6 document. The percentage breakdown of the employed population between the various economic sectors shows the marked industrial specialisation of the Left Bank.

Sector	Region	Vizcaya	Basque Country
Primary	0.6	2.3	3.1
Secondary	49.3	43.2	45.3
Tertiary	50.1	54.2	51.6

Still according to the same document, 37% of industrial employment is accounted for by steelmaking and processing while shipbuilding accounts for 14.4%. Both these sectors have been affected by restructuring. Altos Hornos de Vizcaya, situated at Sestao and Barakaldo, which accounts all the jobs in the steelmaking sector and Aesa (steel-hulled ship construction based at Sestao), which accounts for all the jobs in the shipbuilding sector, are prime examples of the decline in the region, and the restructuring and conversion taking place threatens jobs and worries the population.

Between 1986 and 1981 (figures taken from the 1991 Census and 1986 register of residents) unemployment in the region dropped, with the rate of unemployed in the working population falling by 4.1 percentage points. This fall is less than for Vizcaya and for the autonomous community as a whole, due to the fact that services have shown an 18.2 point increase in the number of employed which has helped offset losses on the industrial side during the period.

According the Sortu 6 document: "The future is likely to bring further reductions in the workforce of the integrated steelworks Altos Hornos de Vizcaya. Although it is at the time of writing (February 1993) impossible to say how steep this fall will be, we must prepare ourselves for the worst with closure of the flagship steelmaking operation and the loss of 3,500 jobs. (...) This means an increase of 3.2 percentage points in the 1991 unemployment figure, further aggravating the already worsening employment situation in the area. (...) Whatever happens, this shutdown would have a serious impact on an industrial situation that is already severely impaired."

To ascertain the need and demand for vocational counselling among the young people affected by the hard reality set out in this document, the vociferous echo produced by some sections of modern society are just as telling as the facts themselves.

"They have never worked, they are not working and they will not work. This describes young people", according to the Basque trade union ELA. "It is a chain reaction. If industrial jobs disappear so will those in the service sector, in commerce and in the hotel and catering industry. The service sector will decline because workers cannot afford to consume (...). The situation of an unemployed person on the Left Bank could well deteriorate in future. And we are not talking only of Altos Hornos de Vizcaya but of 20,000 jobs that depend on it" points out the "La Gaceta 9 de Barakaldo" of April 1993.

"Half young Basques out of work" and "300,000 young people leave school and seek a job each year" were headlines in Deia, the Basque newspaper, on 26 August 1993.

These are the headlines, but alarm is spreading to informal networks and in exaggerated form reaches the members of the target group, influencing their expectations and destroying the hopes on which their demand would be based. When crisis threatens, people - among them young people - tend to keep their head down and seek other interests.

3. The structure of vocational counselling for the target group

Ezquerraldea is a local movement on the Left Bank which began in Barakaldo as the result of the initiative and efforts of a group of teachers at one of the two state-run polytechnics there.

One of these teachers, who is now an official of Ezquerraldea, explained that the movement "aims to defend the future of the region, a future we look at from

the point of view of children and young people, not of people of 45 or over, although we are now considering what will happen to our region with a mass of people already retired or taking early retirement. However our concern is mainly with finding jobs for young people, with their future, a future in which industry will be declining, which will see the breakdown of collective bargaining in large firms and of the young people's employment scheme as it has always operated. This is the crux of the matter: the breakdown of networks of training and habitual relations. That is why we are defending the basic elements which up to now have permitted a certain degree of solidarity and cooperation in finding jobs for young people."

The interview helped us to grasp better the problem of counselling on the Left Bank.

Prior to the crisis the region had a very close-knit social structure based on an industrial working class with a tradition of unionisation. This structure was the consequence of a cohesive industrial network and particularly of the existence of a large company in basic industry, Altos Hornos de Vizcaya, which was surrounded by companies of equal importance such as Naval and Walco. On these depended almost all the other small and medium-size industrial firms, as also the service sector, including vocational training. The problems of this region, including the problems relating to jobs for young people and their vocational training, were solved by the signing of a collective agreement regulating working conditions at Altos Hornos. The social fabric of the Left Bank was notable for workers' solidarity, which was the basis of the future for the younger generations which our informant identified with the future of the region.

Now that the crisis and consequent restructuring are affecting the large firms particularly and threatening to destroy the flagship Altos Hornos, the future becomes uncertain and with it the chances of jobs for young people.

"This (our informant is referring to the organisation of industry prior to the crisis) permitted a number of levels of relationship in which neighbours, solidarity and cooperation functioned and were possible. Now the dominant idea is that anything goes, that it is a case of everyone for himself and the coexistence and social fabric of these groups will be destroyed. This is why Ezquerraldea is saying that if the future brings the disappearance of the large firms; it must not be allowed to see the creation of a society in which anything goes. It is quite possible that Altos Hornos will be obliged to shut down, and if it has to shut down, let it shut down, we couldn't care less. But there will have to be another firm to provide 30,000 jobs and another to provide 2,000 and another to provide 500 in order to maintain the structure of relationships, which is what we are talking about. Only in this type of firm is a structure of relationships possible together with a kind of life and a life-style which we wish to defend."

The basic question remains. A "Before" which is still yesterday and today will disintegrate into scrap. Before, the situation on the Left Bank was not good for those who lived there huddled together with no green spaces and with insufficient services, but everyone, including young people knew what to expect. A lifestyle and a future dominated by and dependent on worker solidarity. Before, they knew where they were going. Now - a now which is still tomorrow but today is fear - they no longer know.

In this framework, which is the starting point for our research, we put the question "What do young people do today?"

"Nothing. They sleep and they vegetate. At least that is what I hear from those we throw out of vocational training. They sleep and vegetate until 6 and 7 o'clock in the evening", the teacher from the Polytechnic Institute responsible for Ezquerraldea tells us.

But we insist "And what happens with those 35 out of 40 in each specialised course who remain in vocational training?"

"They register with the National Institute of Employment - if their parents can get them out of bed to go and register, and make sure they bring back a card showing that they have done so. They register simply as a family expedient. No one believes in the National Institute of Employment and nobody expects anything of it."

Chaos, uncertainty, living from hand to mouth, everyone for himself, every family sticking together. Disoriented, the young people keep their head down and sleep.

3.1 First subgroup: Structure of counselling and demand

This first subgroup was defined as that mainly situated in the lowest age group with a majority of males who have abandoned the educational system at primary level or before completing their secondary studies without any form of qualification and who are now out of work, and with many of them not looking for jobs or in temporary or casual employment. Some within this group are obviously seriously lacking in training and although generally this is not reflected in demand, the group needs thorough counselling in terms of information, assessment and advice as to the occupational training available at a very practical level and with close supervision, as is possible with on-the-job training.

For those who make up this group the standard structure of counselling within the educational system with counselling given by teachers and, where available, employees of the recently established counselling departments, has not proved sufficient and the very existence of the group is proof of its ineffectiveness.

This group does not ask for counselling, nor did it do so when it was still within the educational system, nor does it do so after completion of studies aimed at fitting it for the labour market.

The group itself shows how a gap is being created, a gap in the process of launching a new generation of workers into jobs left by the destruction of the powerful organisations of the working class which, on the basis of family reproduction assured by their social victories, guaranteed the orderly reproduction of the forces of labour which the production apparatus required.

The young people in the subgroup we are considering here are the poor of societies in a growth crisis. Public and private do-gooding, which seeks to use counselling to remedy the disadvantaged position of young people who no longer carry on the tradition of their elders, is a makeshift solution.

Having abandoned the formal educational system because they got lost in the labyrinth of reforms to a system that failed to come up with the magic formula for reproducing the forces of labour needed by a society undergoing change, these young people find themselves on the street unequipped with the necessary training. They are superfluous to requirements and they know it; their problem is that they are superfluous.

If they sleep and vegetate while they can and their family puts up with them it is because the alternatives from which they can choose are either excessive exploitation in casual employment or the search for a first job, which makes them formally part of the unemployed working population and obliges them to face up to the fact that they did not acquire training when they had the opportunity to do so. With a sense of guilt they are brought up against the proof that they are lost and that what they need and should ask for is not work, but advice and

counselling as to what training they should acquire, and then, under the benevolent supervision of their counsellors, they should follow the vocational training courses recommended to them, thus returning in one way or another to the education they had abandoned.

3.1.1 The National Institute of Employment (INEM)

Unemployment in the working population is officially the responsibility of the National Institute of Employment. This organisation offers a counselling service to those who register with its branches as out of work and seeking a job. The National Institute of Employment, moreover, is legally the only employment office and thus the only official path to a job for those who are out of work. From its position of monopoly its policy is to convert the unemployment situation into a complex activity at whose door is situated the first step - "compulsory" counselling.

Any person registering as unemployed with the National Institute of Employment has his or her details noted down at length to permit a classification, not only in order to process the offer of work to potential employers but also in order to offer that person occupational training courses ensuring adequate training appropriate to the labour market. In addition, the National Institute of Employment has created a labour market monitoring service to help it perform its counselling tasks and also organises an extensive range of vocational courses directly or in partnership with private firms and public institutions.

It is impossible to assess the practical value of this ambitious policy and how near it comes to attaining the objectives deriving from it. All we can do apart from stating the policy, is to quote the criticisms that have reached us from the

Left Bank and give our opinion that there is still a long way to go and that far-reaching decentralisation is vital.

We can still hear the vocational training instructor we interviewed saying "Nobody believes in the National Institute of Employment and no one expects anything of it".

"But now the problem is even greater" we are told by the Director of the Centre for New Technologies of the Fund for Training and Employment, referring to the demand for vocational training courses by young people in our target age group. "The National Institute of Employment gives priority in its general planning to people over 25 years of age who have been out of work for one year or younger people who have worked for at least six months. Until this year 90% of those attending the Institute's courses were under 25. These were people who had finished their school vocational training who, since they had no job, registered with the Institute. But this year younger people can only gain a place on a course if one is available. Moreover in Vizcaya it is the Institute itself that chooses its students. In the old days whenever a new course programme was ready it was announced on posters and people could read it and choose. This year none of the courses have been advertised. The Institute takes the people who register as unemployed and on the basis of what they term a "classifying interview" tell them what course they should attend. All this is done by computer. Thus they choose the people for the courses and all those who are going to ask. As a result of this system, people who do not know how it works are disconcerted and go elsewhere, looking for courses advertised in the newspapers."

"The problem", says one of the people at Norabide, a counselling centre for young people run by Cáritas, "is that the National Institute of Employment has neither the capacity nor the funds to give counselling and training to everybody considering the person and not the computer record. It is offering training courses which are not suitable for the people being offered them. They interview

candidates but I doubt the efficacy of the interviews. People go there because one has to go there for a number of reasons, but firms dodge the National Institute of Employment and look elsewhere.

In summary, therefore, the group does not ask the National Institute of Employment either for counselling or for training. They register, when they register, just in case or because their parents oblige them to.

3.1.2 Initial vocational training centres

The Department of Education of the autonomous community of the Basque Country has seized the initiative and is seeking to help through what are referred to as "Initial vocational training centres". To a certain degree this initiative bears similarities with the vocational training modules provided under the educational system, since the passing of the law reforming the educational system, for those who end their period of compulsory schooling without passing the final examination and attaining the certificates which would enable them to go on to non-compulsory secondary education, or for those who do not wish to stay at school on finishing the period of compulsory education. The fundamental distinction is that initial vocational training courses are organised away from teaching centres with the cooperation of the local authorities which provide premises and other assistance. The representative of Norabide whom we have already quoted told us the following:

"The programme of the initial vocational training centres has been designed by the government of the Basque country and has been extended to the whole of the autonomous community.

"The programme is carried out on the basis of an agreement with the local authorities or the commune. On the Left Bank there is an initial vocational training centre at Sestao and this year one will start up in Barakaldo. The

programme is designed for young people aged between 16 and 18 who are trying to get into a certain occupation. These are young people who have not done well at school and have no or only minimum vocational training."

"In my view", said the person responsible for Ezkarraldea "the initial vocational training centres were a good idea."

The people at the vocational training centre at Somorrostro also talked about the initial vocational training centres:

"These centres aim to reach young people of between 16 and 18 and return them to the school system after they have abandoned it, a very difficult situation. The basic vocational training centre in the mining district has been operating for four or five years. They have some employment indicators which I think are optimistic and they estimate placements at around 50%. Of course these are not permanent placements and are based on practical training with a firm. They do not differentiate between periods of training and actual job placement. There is a person known as a placement officer who goes around all the firms in the district to ensure that all the young people who attend courses get a period of practical training and are not stuck the whole time in a classroom or laboratory. The idea is that they make contact with firms - which helps those who do well in the training course to get a job. What is quite clear is that they are doing a good job. I know young people who have been through this procedure and are now trainees - or employees, I don't know how to describe them. But they are now very conscientious and keen on working and acquiring training. Since these centres are known and have been in existence for some time parents tend to register their children there."

The initial training offered by these centres is in workshops and is not counselling in the proper sense of the word. Counselling for the subgroup we are considering here is a problem calling for dedication on the part of occupationally qualified people, social workers or other volunteers or professional people - to marginalised young people who do not ask for help.

3.1.3 Norabide

Cáritas, which is an organisation within the Catholic church, has been aware of the problem of this group of young people and Norabide is the result. Two years ago Norabide opened up two centres on the Left Bank. We spoke to one of the officials of this organisation.

"Our plan was to work with young people from the age of 16 upwards in order to help them find work, but in fact we have been overwhelmed. Demand for help is coming from older people as well. The number of firms closing down on the Left Bank is resulting in people up to 40 years of age becoming unemployed and seeking work.

"Our initiative began with a group of volunteers working in a certain district of Bilbao who realised that one of the most serious problems among young people was unemployment coupled with low qualifications and a high frequency of failure at school among young people. They found that there were substantial training facilities available but that what was lacking was the guidance to ensure that each of the young people could take advantage of the facilities and use his own abilities to seek and find a job. It was then decided to set up this counselling service.

"The project and the organisation were created with the aim of ensuring a more systematic job placement of these "lost" people and of linking their placement to a point of reference such as Norabide or a person within Norabide with whom they could analyse what was happening. Another aim was to do what we could to make for a better use of financial resources. In our opinion a lot of training courses are being organised by a lot of bodies but with little result because of the lack of preliminary guidance.

"We form teams of volunteers. On the Left Bank we have two teams, one in Sestao and one in Barakaldo, each composed of 10 people to whom we give the necessary training for their work. We have a centre here in the middle of this district and we are trying to reach young people who are unemployed in order to use our contact with them and the information we can give to persuade them to plan their personal approach to the job market. Once we have this plan we try to help by analysing the person's attitudes and abilities, his previous history, his successes and failures and see how starting from this basis we can advise him as to what sort of training he should seek and what jobs are available on the market. The main thing is to ensure that each person prepares his own plan for job-seeking. We do not offer vocational training courses, we have the information on all vocational training courses offered by the Basque government, the provincial government, local government, youth centres and private enterprises so that they can consider them and choose."

The philosophy of this organisation and its direct approach to counselling our subgroup is clear; what is not yet clear is the problem of demand for counselling by the young people who are apparently "sleeping and vegetating" and do not ask for help.

"We address the problem of getting hold of young people in a rather organised way. Norabide is an integrated programme within Cáritas and is therefore aimed at a group of young people on the margins of society who have problems, and are especially disadvantaged. Our formula for reaching these young people is that each team should become part of the network of social services operating in the area concerned. Then, when they come up against a problem connected with the training or employment of young people, they refer them to us. Officially young people come to us through this network but in time information about us becomes spread by word of mouth and people start to come directly of their own accord.

But we definitely operate on demand. In other words, we expect those who come to us to show a personal interest. A person comes, we explain how we operate, and we only begin the process of counselling if that person wishes us to do so and is interested. We offer a model of work, but only if the person wishes to benefit from our service and requests it do we act. In fact, in many cases mothers bring their children so that the first interview takes place with them as well; but the second time round the children have to come on their own and decide whether or not they wish to continue.

"In 1992 more than 130 young people sought out Norabide in Barakaldo and about 90 in Sestao. Once we have explained what we do, about 20% decide not to go on because they came believing that we can find them work. About 60% take the information we give them and enrol for the course they think suits them and then go away without making a full plan for finding a job with the help of a voluntary worker from our organisation. Only about 20% really follow the whole programme, drawing up their plan of training, putting it into practice and then starting out on the search for a job with the personalised help of a voluntary worker. On average this whole process takes about a year and a half.

"The actual counselling process is as follows: During the first interview we try simply to inform the person of what we have to offer and see if they accept, to make sure they are aware that with our help they will be expected to draw up a plan of work and undertake to put it into practice. The interviews, which are always one-to-one, seek to determine a person's abilities and real potential and to make sure that he is aware of the general situation and of his own in particular. Generally speaking young people have no idea at all. We then try to come to an agreement with the person about the plan of action aimed at reaching the objectives he has set himself. Then comes the follow-up which is always undertaken by the same person from Norabide. This is the responsibility of the voluntary workers, who act as a kind of tutor helping the young people to stick to their plan."

The young people who approach Norabide have an average age of 25 with a rising tendency despite Norabide's efforts to attract younger people. At the moment about 50% of the total are female, although last year two out of every three people given assistance were men. In terms of education 80% have completed primary school or have begun vocational training but not completed it, the rest have Level 1 vocational training, while a very small minority have followed courses at a higher level. On the other hand, 60% have already worked in marginal or casual employment.

3.1.4 The Arana collective

Another experiment similar to Norabide is that of the Arana collective. We spoke to one of the people responsible.

"The Arana collective operates at national level and relies on subsidies, mainly from the Ministry for Social Affairs. We are now well established in all the autonomous communities. We have just prepared a programme which we are about to launch and which touches on more or less everything - how to approach young people, especially those on the margins of society, how to learn what their training needs are and how to try to meet these needs. And then, if they decide to seek employment, how to look for a job, while if they decide to set up on their own Arana will help them. We also do a follow-up to see how they are getting on, what problems they are encountering and what their training needs are. Finally Arana carries out studies to see what new needs are developing. We also have a database. For the moment we are still putting all our information on computer. Here we tend to concentrate on setting up in business on one's own and we start with a plan of study. Formerly we also gave advice on seeking jobs with employers, but this side has gone more or less dead.

"Some people who have been pushed to the margins of society don't come to you, you have to go to them. You have to find the place where they are. They are not keen to work; you have to motivate them and then follow them up and ensure they don't get away because if you don't keep very close you'll lose them. This has led us to think of another type of approach, including mobile centres.

"The programme for setting up on one's own, which is what we are working on at present, aims to motivate young people, help them to prepare a plan, and track their progress for as long as they need to prepare themselves and take their decisions. After that they are given every kind of help. Our programme for those who wish to seek employment gives them information and explains how to look for jobs through newspaper advertisements, how to prepare a curriculum vitae, how to present themselves and behave during an interview, how to write a letter. We even train them for the interview. We give them a place where they can prepare and typewriters if they need them. You have to encourage them and guide them in everything and tell them what training they need in order to achieve their objectives.

"Most of the people coming to us are between 25 and 32 and at the moment we see more women than men since we have a "Macunde" programme and women are aware of this. This year, for example, we had 90 women working on projects."

3.1.5 Youth information centres

The local authorities of Barakaldo, Sestao and Portugalete have youth information centres. Although this is a municipal service it has been contracted out to the firm of EDEX.

The information services provided by these centres cover a more general area and not simply training and employment. Services related to these two subjects

account for 20% of total services, which are not counselling in the real sense of the word.

3.1.6 The regional committees

The range of counselling and training services on offer for the group with which we are concerned here is rounded off by one which is left over from an initiative of the Department of Labour of the autonomous community of the Basque country that began in 1988 and officially ceased in 1991, namely the regional committees.

In Barakaldo the office, which is all that is left of one of the regional committees on the Left Bank, is still open. The person responsible for this office gave us the following information:

"In 1988 the Basque Country's Department of Labour established a programme known as "Regional Committees" whose purpose was to ascertain the needs for training and employment, but especially training, in various regions of the autonomous community. 14 regional committees were set up in Vizcaya with the assistance of the local authorities, the unions and the employers' organisations. Three regional committees were established on the Left Bank, one to be responsible for Barakaldo, the second for Santurzi, Sestao and Portugalete and the third, Muskiz, for the mining district. An expert was appointed to each regional committee to diagnose the needs of the area and a training plan. The diagnosis and the training plans were drawn up but the programmes were not implemented because the committees were closed down before this could happen. In Barakaldo the committee still exists because it was an independent legal entity and because there are enough funds to last until October. The functions of the committees were not strictly defined and each one did what it could.

In Barakaldo we found a terrible lack of information. The National Institute of Employment had its offices there but nobody went to them. We did a mail-out to make ourselves known; this included a form enabling us to survey the unemployed population and to know who our target group was.

"It is the young people who come least, the group that did not do well at school and which should really have priority. A lot of young people come with their parents. Some mothers come to get information and I tell them "It is your son who must come". But it's no good, you organise a course for them and they don't come, they are waiting to dc military service or they manage to get a small job. They are very lost; the problem is they don't know what they want. Here in Barakaldo we calculate that about 3,000 pupils leave school without qualifications but they don't come. What is strange is that people with more education tend to come more. Today for example I saw people who had completed Level 2 vocational training and who therefore have some qualifications; but they are convinced that it is important to attend courses; these people are motivated. The problem is that most people are not motivated and aren't aware that you are here to help."

In summary therefore, this subgroup, which is the one that has been and still is most severely affected by industrial restructuring and whose need for counselling is most acute, does not ask for it.

3.2 Second subgroup - counselling services and demand

The second subgroup is made up of women who have abandoned their studies at whatever level and devote themselves exclusively to work in the home. The majority of women in this group are married, separated or divorced and generally have a low level of education.

This group's need for counselling is the same as those described for the first target group in the first part of this report, to which readers are referred.

On the Left Bank the subgroup at which we shall look is pulled two ways:

. On the one hand there is the impact of the movement for women's liberation, one of whose aims is to enable women to obtain paid work outside the home as a means of becoming financially independent. This involves breaking the traditional social fabric on which reproduction of the working family is based and in fact contributing to its destruction.

. The pressure exerted by the workers' movement to defend traditional reproduction structures which place women in their traditional role within the family - the very role which the women's liberation movement is seeking to do away with.

This contradictory situation, which gives rise to specific needs for guidance on the part of this subgroup that are more urgent on the Left Bank, is not matched by the specific counselling services that would be called for. This explains why the subgroup does not ask for counselling.

The need for counselling of this subgroup to enable it face up to the organisation of financial support for the family and solve it on the basis of the modern model as described in the first part of this report is quite clear in the case of the Left Bank.

3.3. Third and fourth subgroups - counselling services and demand

The third subgroup is made up of young people of both sexes who have completed their secondary schooling and are now out of work and seeking employment.

In the case of this group the need and the demand for counselling are determined by the labour market situation and presuppose the availability of information as to what jobs are available and the vocational qualifications required - there is a clear need for monitoring the labour market - as also scrutiny of a young person's basic qualifications in order to produce, with him, an individualised plan of supplementary training, advice as how to put it into effect and the assistance available, and a follow-up of how the plan is implemented. In the case of women, allowing for their disadvantaged position on the market, guidance is needed to steer them towards the compensating measures provided for under the equal opportunity plans.

The fourth subgroup, which is closely related to the third, is made up of young people of both sexes who are attending secondary school vocational training courses.

In this group the need and demand for counselling stems from the need to take decisions as to their future career. Advice together with information and assessment is in many cases indispensable. Women's need for information is the result of their social position and includes information connected with the organisation of the home discussed in this report in the case of the first target group.

We have combined these two subgroups because of their continuity in the sense that they are receiving or have received vocational training and are now seeking to enter working life.

This is a "normal" group typical of how reproduction should be complemented by the strength of labour in order to adjust to the new needs of the production apparatus. The subgroup in its neoliberal version comprises those who have set

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out on the right path. For them the official system of vocational training and guidance makes complete sense.

However, they do feel that something is missing. The passage from school or training to an active working life is not continuous and the time spent waiting to find a job destroys the exemplary nature of their situation. It creates the need and demand for counselling on leaving the educational system which the authorities seek to meet with offers of counselling and occupational training both before and after the period of formal vocational training.

The first consequence of this gap appears in the organisation of counselling within the educational system and the second appears in the counselling offered "outside and after" the educational system in an attempt to utilise the period of unemployment awaiting a job.

Vocational counselling under the educational system is more theory than reality and has as its starting point the tutorials given by the pupils' own teachers who temporarily become their counsellors with no specific preparation for the task.

The educational counselling centres, which offer tutors specialist advice, are a first step towards the psychological and pedagogical preparation of the counsellors. The second step is the counselling units in secondary schools and - still at the planning stage - the counselling modules with which it is planned to slant counselling towards training for employment, partly abandoning the psychological and pedagogical slant that currently marks tutorial counselling.

Even at the planning stage this gap creates a major difficulty for vocational counselling within the vocational training stream at secondary school level. Employment is not an immediate and logical consequence of the prior training process, or at least it is not so in every case. The state of being out of work while seeking a job which may involve being in casual employment or vocational training, which are not always incompatible, is a sequence which is interposed between school vocational training and employment. So far as they exist, the new counsellors within the educational system, will have to cope with the fact that their pupils' need for counselling is not always centred on the objective of a job consistent with the training they are receiving but that they may have to guide their pupils towards the gap defined as "being out of work and seeking a job" which is in reality a labyrinth and jungle of available vocational training courses and possible casual jobs in which they will be lost and even stray away from the objective towards which they were being steered.

3.3.1 Educational counselling at present

Two government training centres mentioned this counselling - one a government-run vocational training centre in Barakaldo and the other a private training centre run by the diocese and well known on the Left Bank, even though it is situated in the mining district.

"I am a teacher at a state-run vocational training centre in Barakaldo which has 1,937 students and 12 specialist courses which used to be predominantly industrial but now include special courses for what is considered to be "women's work", although not because there has been any serious study of the market and the needs of the region.

"There was no study on which to base the choice of special courses that are being run. We have trained a number of groups of professional trainers who are

analysing the market and studying the evolution of jobs and qualifications in order to design vocational training modules and special courses.

"I believe that a great many of instructors inform their pupils of the various job possibilities in their field. The counselling departments cannot do the same, because firms' demand for certain types of jobs or for certain skills varies more rapidly and flexibly than the replies that a government department can give."

However, it is one thing to counsel and another to find a job. Even those who do find a job on finishing their Level 2 vocational training or after a certain period of unemployment are usually put on temporary contracts, which would seem to call for continuing training. However the person we interviewed considered that "Those who have benefited from vocational training and find a job relatively easily because there is a demand for their type of skill on the market, even though they are employed on a casual basis and the entry into the job market takes the form of wandering from firm to firm until they find stable employment, find that the level of skills which firms require is much lower than those they possess, they know much more than they are going to be able to put into practice in their job throughout their life. This presumes a deterioration of knowledge and skills, but I think that it is an intended deterioration."

The Somorrostro Vocational Training School is a private religious institute financed by the Diocese of Bilbao. This is a large centre which had a staff of 126 teachers and 2,384 pupils in 1992, of which 60% came from the Left Bank. The institute has efficient, modern equipment. At one time the centre housed the Regional Committee for the Mining District and it is the specialist who was running this committee that is now responsible for the job prospecting centre of this school. This was the person we interviewed.

The singular symbiosis between vocational training within the school system and vocational training that started with the old committee is interesting from the counselling point of view.

Firstly, as our informant told us, "The vocational training modules which this centre will ask for are based on the experience of the vocational training centres". Secondly, the link as regards counselling and finding a job is created through the small prospecting centre which used to be the committee. "Last year we interviewed all the young people who had completed courses over the past two years using our pupils as interviewers. We also interviewed 45 firms and in this case the instructors were the interviewers. From these interviews we drew conclusions, although we have not yet processed all the information. The only information we can give you concerning the provisional findings of the survey is that interest in replying stood in direct relation to school or course performance. Young people who got bad results thought that filling in the questionnaire was a useless exercise while those that did well and were satisfied with the courses filled it in. On the other hand, there still seems to be a persistent idea that their decision - which was generally that of their parents - to follow a vocational training course was a mistake. That they have not found work and they do not know whether it is because of their own inability or whether the fault lies with the training they were given. They were also surprised at the length of time they had to wait before finding a job, and that the jobs they finally found were only temporary. All in all, a first assessment of the survey results would seem to show that there is an enormous discrepancy between the training that young people have been given and what employers subsequently require, but we still think that however much we improve the training courses there is a dynamism in the economy of the Left Bank which is a terrible handicap to youth employment and that if we improve our training courses too much we shall end up with the best qualified unemployed in the world. This district does not create jobs but unemployed people.

"We are hoping to improve the questionnaire this year and increase the number of firms interviewed. The idea is that this information should influence the school, break the mould of its list of practical and theoretical training courses. We have already produced an information booklet aimed at the pupils' parents. Apart from information about the courses and the school itself the booklet includes information about the job market and the special courses run by the school. This year we hope to be able to replace the sheet we give pupils when they complete their training with more complete and up-to-date information than we can give them at present.

"Some pupils come here because on finishing their period of compulsory education they opt for vocational training, and others because they decided to follow the baccalaureate course, failed, and now turn to us, but none of them have any clear information; they are brought here by their parents. This year when students completed their course we offered them what we called a "social snapshot of the region" - of the job situation and the market and what they can expect to find. This is a kind of structural analysis giving the firms that exist, the jobs they offer, placement, and such information as we have more or less been able to update. We also analyse each of the special courses the school offers and the jobs to which they can lead. We describe the nature of the jobs and their requirements in terms of vocational training. And we tell them that if they cannot find jobs, not to waste time but go on acquiring more training. There are quite a lot of students who think that they should have been told all this a bit earlier and that the information about the lack of jobs for which they have studied reaches them after they have wasted five years of their lives going through training".

A question that suggests itself is whether the decisions about the special courses to be run by the centres - which to some extent are decisions as to what advice to offer since the pupils are necessarily guided by and have to choose from what is available - are taken without sufficient knowledge of the job market.

"No, we are not aware of what jobs are actually available, we only know to a degree how many of our pupils find work and how the figure varies by specialist field, as also the type of employment contract they are given, which we have found in this region to be 60% casual employment. This is the guidance we give those who complete their courses. In other words the information is like a snapshot of the situation in the region; 'the jobs waiting for you if you manage to get one will be on a temporary or other form of contract ranging from the casual to the part-time contract.' We also give this information to all pupils at meetings held at the end of their course."

Faced with this situation one must ask oneself what happens to young people who on finishing their studies and equipped with a qualification go from one temporary job to another indefinitely. How long will this situation last? When will these young people find stable employment in line with the vocational qualifications they have obtained?

"In the survey we made we asked how long it took them to find a job, how long they were in that job and how many jobs they had had. And when we have analysed all the replies we will give you an answer. However an indefinite contract today is a dream ...".

All the information we acquired confirms that the link between vocational training within the school system and moving on to the appropriate job has been broken and that only some training centres are beginning to grasp the problem and adopt a form of counselling that takes account of the situation beyond occupational training where casual employment goes hand in hand with vocational training courses. New counselling mechanisms are needed for this group of young people,

the subgroup that constitutes the majority of the target group whose needs and demand for counselling we are analysing.

From this position outside the formal vocational system which the Sommorostro Centre is in some way trying to bring inside the system by including vocational training centres, our informant steered us towards the Centre for New Technologies.

3.3.2 Vocational counselling

The Centre for New Technologies is in the Trápaga Valley near Barakaldo and Sestao and is the creation of the Fund for Training and Employment.

The Director of the Centre explained to us that the Fund for Training and Employment is a non-profit making organisation. It has a governing council on which sit representatives of the local authority, the unions and the employers' organisation for the district.

"This Centre gives information but not guidance although we have an arrangement with the Department of Labour of the autonomous community to provide not only courses but also a counselling module and to create a permanent counselling team who besides following up pupils would go around the province to see what is happening on the job market. We also want to process the data which the National Institute of Employment holds and start building up a database of pupils who have passed through the Centre so that firms can take advantage of it when they need personnel."

Alongside this Centre for New Technologies, which may be considered an exemplary initiative given the crisis in the labour market on the Left Bank, there

are a large number of small private vocational training centres which put proposals for vocational training courses to the National Institute of Employment and the government of the autonomous community, mainly with the aim of obtaining subsidies.

To summarise, a substantial range of training courses exist for this subgroup although it is not, apparently, sufficient to meet demand. What does not exist, however, is an organised institutionalised counselling facility, merely plans and gestures of good will such as those we have described. However, **the subgroup not only desperately needs counselling both within the formal educational system and beyond it, but is asking for it.**

3.4 Fifth subgroup: Counselling services and demand

The last group is composed of university students of both sexes, both those who have completed their course and are seeking employment and those who are still pursuing their studies and also, for reasons of curricular continuity, those who are pursuing a baccalaureate course and preparing to go on to university.

This group's need for vocational counselling when confronted with the labour market is less than in the case of the previous subgroups. Their need is specifically for assistance in preparing a plan of postgraduate studies in Spain or abroad.

However, those falling within this subgroup are undergoing a long period of formal education, and the counselling they need is not the same as that they are given during their secondary schooling (tutorials assisted by the vocational guidance centres) and the new counselling is still at the drawing board stage. At higher education level the vocational counselling and information centres attached to the

universities have material and personnel resources that are generally considered inadequate.

The influence of the industrial crisis on this subgroup is less marked. Also worth mentioning is the fact that this subgroup is less in evidence on the Left Bank than other subgroups. However, to discover its needs and demand for counselling in order to face up to the labour market after obtaining a higher qualification, we interviewed an official of the Novia Salcedo Foundation who specialises in counselling this subgroup and has made herself responsible for counselling from the moment a pupil completes primary education up to the time he obtains a university qualification.

3.4.1 Novia Salcedo

"This organisation was set up in 1980 as an association and three years ago was made a foundation. Its object is to centralise information on training and employment for young people in a number of areas: master's degree, competitive examinations, public competitions for posts, prizes and so on. In principle we intended to concentrate on information and 10,000 students come to us for information every year; but for the past six or seven years we have been extending our activities.

"Most of our activity is in the field of vocational counselling and finding jobs for young people. On the counselling side we hold courses at our centres for parents and students at the most important stages of their career - when they have to take a decision. This is the case, for example, in the eighth year of primary education, in the third year of the baccalaureate course or during the pre-university course. During these courses we notice the importance of the family factor and of the interest of the individual concerned rather than the financial aspect of the job he can hope to get. These courses last about six hours. In the course concerned with the baccalaureate we hand out information material, show videos, use transparencies etc.

"We also organise four-day intensive course on how to find a job. On the first day students have to prepare a plan then consider the various firms and how to approach them.

"We also provide counselling and individualised assessment. Those who come for counselling are asked about their interests and expectations, what preparation they have and so on. If they are working towards their baccalaureate they usually come with their parents. Young people from the Left Bank do come, but not secondary school pupils since we do not organise counselling courses in schools and colleges in this area."

The tone and even the mechanisms of vocational counselling have changed. As far as this centre is concerned the Left Bank has disappeared or is very distant. For the first time in all our efforts to learn about counselling services available we found one giving counselling that took account of Europe, albeit only to inform about possible scholarships for study or research. The worry of seeking a job of any kind is here replaced by personal interest in what one is doing, perhaps because one can choose.

However, nothing has been said about those who, while in principle belonging to this subgroup, are left by the wayside without any qualification, in other words those who abandon the baccalaureate course without getting a certificate, those who are poorly prepared for employment yet have to cope with a labour market on which jobs are scarce and a world of under-employment, over-exploitation and occupational training. The need for vocational counselling among those who tried to go on to higher studies but who did not succeed, is similar if not exactly the same as that of the subgroup we have already looked at, namely of those people who have failed to acquire a vocational training qualification. But here the degree of frustration and marginalisation is probably greater.

3.5 The structure of vocational counselling in the light of the needs of the target group. Basis for our "recommendations".

Firstly: An area ravaged by the first restructuring of traditional industry in 1985 and in fear of what is still to come.

Secondly: A traditional social fabric dominated by the working class family and the presence of workers' organisations as the basis for the reproduction of the forces of labour and their integration into the production apparatus. This fabric is gradually being destroyed as the industrial structure crumbles.

Third: A breach in the previous continuity between completion of training and taking up employment. The waiting time may be one year, two, five, ten or more. A gap in the life of young people with no foreseeable end which opens up when they complete or abandon their formal education. A gap plugged with irregular, casual or temporary work bearing little relation to that for which they have been prepared and what they were promised. A gap full of occupational training courses, waiting periods and renewed promises which they suspect again will not be kept.

This, generally speaking, is the panorama that confronts public and private, professional and voluntary initiatives to provide vocational counselling for young people.

We can summarise the structure of counselling as falling under two headings, that within the formal educational system and that outside it.

Within the formal educational system, there is being developed, slowly but steadily, a system of counselling for pupils which will be based on counselling modules or areas during secondary education but whose content at present cannot be predicted. For the time being pupils receive counselling from their teachers in their function of tutors and the content of this counselling will depend on good will and dedication. However it is worth mentioning the presence of a number of private initiatives of the Novia Salcedo type which offer short informational courses at their centres, and centres such as the Somorrostro School which seek to provide their pupils with information as to what to expect, producing a survey of the labour market as an aid to this counselling work.

Outside and following on formal education:

. At a general level throughout Spain and with a presence on the Left Bank, the National Institute of Employment offers a counselling service to job seekers based on a plan of vocational training courses and has created a market monitoring service as a support system.

. The government of the autonomous community of the Basque Country is in its turn experimenting with its own vocational training plan. Here particular mention should be made of the programme for those who leave the educational system prematurely, a programme which has given rise to the initial vocational training centres and which is organised in partnership with the local authorities, without however establishing a general counselling structure, whose coverage efforts such as the regional committees could have extended.

. The Centre for New Technologies of the Fund for Training and Employment, which is run with representatives of the government, the unions and the employers' associations and which is seeking to create its own counselling service.

. The local authorities of the region, who have decided to subcontract services, have set up the Youth Employment Offices which among other

services help to meet the demand for information from young people in matters concerning training or employment.

. Alongside these official initiatives and largely reliant on them (on the employment training and integration plan of the National Institute of Employment and the plans of the government of the autonomous community of the Basque Country) for finance, a growing number of private initiatives are offering occupational training courses of all types and a number of voluntary initiatives such as the Norabide programme of Cáritas which offers counselling in matters of training and employment to the most marginalised and disadvantaged of young people, who do not come forward to request counselling and who require special provision.

A considerable effort is being made to cope with the need for vocational counselling among young people as a result of the economic situation on the Left Bank, but the dispersion of efforts detracts from their effectiveness. In time the counselling services and the counsellors themselves become disoriented because they have not created the necessary mechanisms for investigating the needs of the groups they wish to counsel.

The systems for monitoring the labour markets, where they exist, aim to ascertain the needs of industry in order to plan vocational training courses within and outside the school system, and adjust their training provision to meet the demand,as also to advise young people to make the effort to attend the necessary occupational training courses and thereby fill the gap left by the school vocational training system.

However, it is our fear that these monitoring mechanisms will provide a situational view of employment and of job profiles which match the real situation less the more accurate they become. A serious conflict situation due to the crisis

within a traditional industrial structure and the lack of a new one. This real situation and not that being observed by the monitoring services is what is facing young people on the Left Bank and what they need to be informed about.

4. Recommendations

Our general recommendation is based on the urgent need to create a social fabric that permits the social reproduction of the forces of labour without trauma and fills the gap being created by the gradual destruction of the existing fabric.

The general objective of counselling called for today by the objective needs of our target group is that it should enable them to share as adults in the construction of this fabric, guiding them out of their minority position due to age and out of their marginalised situation resulting from the crisis, assistance measures and even the vocational counselling which claims to protect them. Measures which do nothing more than considerably prolong their minority situation so that they pass as minors through the empty period that necessarily separates them from adulthood.

What is needed is the gradual preparation for a thoroughgoing change because the whole counselling system is based on converting the need for young people immediately to pass to the adult state into a demand for vocational counselling that enables them to go on being minors and puts off the moment of reaching adulthood.

The relationship in the market between need and demand and the relationship of demand to supply is basically a problem of counselling. The availability of jobs

detected by the monitoring mechanisms or the well-meaning intuition of counsellors where such mechanisms do not exist result in the development of training courses which influence the presence or absence of demand on the part of young people, effectively masking any display of need.

The offers of employment which come into being as a result of employers' need to retain the initiative and control in the production process are the sole objective reality imposed on the whole process of production and reproduction of the forces of labour and on the availability of vocational and occupational training courses which it generates. This availability is the only means whereby young people's expectations can reflect in demand while their need to become adults remains hidden. A need which includes productive work as an expression of the fact that life is a relationship with the means of satisfying one's needs.

From all the information we have gathered we conclude that our target group's need for counselling is to render them able to generate productive work, work which will fill the gap created by the impotence of entrepreneurial structures. Work, moreover, that will recreate a fabric of social reproduction of workers who in good time will come to adulthood.

Some of this can be glimpsed in young people's attraction towards self-employment, although this is somewhat disoriented in that it channels them towards training in their own firm and as a manifestation of the entrepreneurial spirit of the Basque people, a path which cannot be opened up to the most disadvantaged groups, which are those in greatest need. What is needed is to provide the guidance necessary for people to develop their ability to generate work, as is today called for by changes in the production system and in technology.

The problems raised in connection with the social fabric of reproduction of the forces of labour shows the nucleus of economic organisation as the family. This particularly affects one section of women in the target group, namely those who confine themselves to their homes and dedicate themselves to domestic work. This problem also affects young people who abandon the educational system with no type of training and who "sleep and vegetate" for as long as the family will permit.

What identifies the problems shared by the two subgroups is that both are resting on a traditional economic family organisation, because it was on this organisation in its working-class version that the social reproduction of the forces of labour rested and still rests. The salary of the head of the family must permit both the maintenance of the wife in the home so that on her and her activity may rest in turn the maintenance of the forces of labour in the marketplace and its reproduction for the children until they become adults and themselves enter the world of work.

The present crisis in traditional industry surely has its effect on working-class families, who cease to adjust to the reproductive function assigned to them. The link between protection/submission on which the traditional family was organised ceases to function and women and children are becoming free. Both groups, who are surplus to labour market requirements, are exposed to exploitation. It is, therefore, necessary for vocational counselling aimed at these two groups to offer specific training dealing with the problem of the economic organisation of the family.

PERSONS AND ORGANISATIONS CONSULTED

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Paz MARZAMORA, ESK-CUIS Union

A person responsible for the NORABIDE Programme set up by Cáritas in Bizkaia.

NOTE TO READERS

The annexes (statistical tables and annotated bibliography) have not been translated into English. They can be consulted in the Spanish and French versions.

CEDEFOP Annex

Target groups analysed in the twelve Member States

B	1)	Young people in Charleroi and Wallonian Brabant
	2)	Young people in Brussels
DK	1)	Locked-in, unemployed young people
	2)	Young people dropping out or changing course in the education system
D		Girls and young women when choosing an occupation
GR	1)	Young people who leave school without completing compulsory education
	2)	Young women with no skills training
E	1)	Young women in the autonomous community of Madrid whose chief activity is domestic work in their own homes
	2)	Young people of both sexes affected by industrial reconversion on the left bank of the Bilbao estuary
F	1)	Young people in initial training
	2)	Young job seekers
IRL		Rural disadvantaged youth Case study 1: North Mayo Case study 2: North-West Connemara
I		Low skilled young people
L	1)	Young people in the 9th class of upper secondary technical education
	2)	Young people with supplementary education in the last year of compulsory schooling
NL		Young drifters
P	1)	Young people in their 9th school year
	2)	Young people who have completed their 9th school year and are attending vocational training schools
	3)	Young people with or without school leaving certificate attending alternative training courses
UK	1)	Young people in full-time employment
	2)	Homeless young people

CEDEFOP – European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training

Determining the need for vocational counselling among different target groups of young people under 28 in Spain
Ignacio Fernández de Castro, Carmen de Elejabeitia

CEDEFOP panorama

Berlin: CEDEFOP – European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training, 1995

1st edition 1995 – 112 pp. – 21.0 x 29.7 cm

ES, EN, FR

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panorama

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Following a brief overview of the career guidance systems in their countries, the authors of the reports describe a number of target groups of young people under 28 years of age, their economic, social and cultural backgrounds and the problems posed by the transition from school to working life.

A total of 21 target groups from the whole spectrum are examined, ranging from young people with favourable conditions for transition to the most disadvantaged.

A comparison is made between the need for career guidance, the demand coming from these groups and the current offer. The conclusions drawn in the summary report (deficit analyses) provide indications for designing future action programmes at EU level.

Particular attention is paid to mobility and the readiness of young people in this age group (PETRA II) throughout the EU Member States.

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National report